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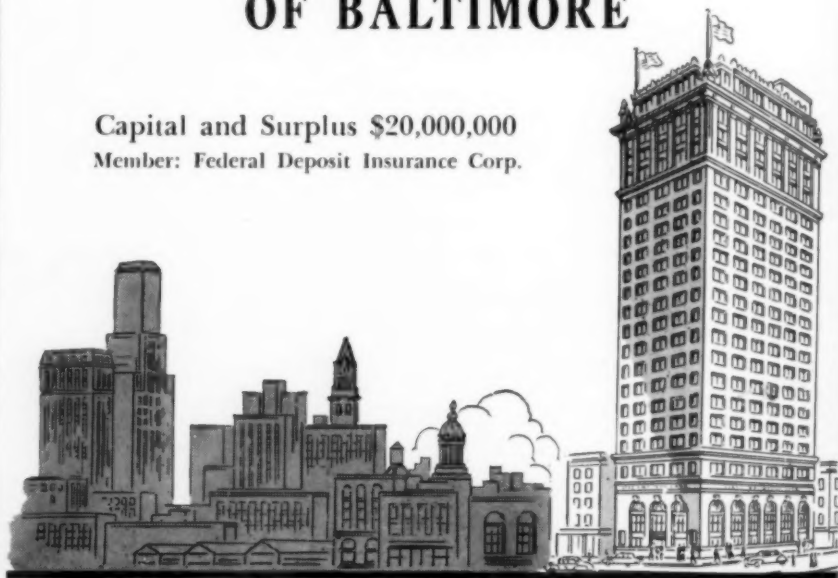
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## GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

By HUGH D. HAWKINS

TRUSTEES are often the least noted of the creative forces in higher education. Many have agreed with Harvard's Swiss-born naturalist, Louis Agassiz, who said, "I believe there is no scientific man who will concede that there can be a University managed to the best advantage by anyone but those interested in its pursuits, and no body of trustees can be so interested."<sup>1</sup> But the original trustees of the Johns Hopkins University proved Agassiz wrong, and none more clearly than George William Brown, famous as mayor of Baltimore during the fatal riots of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Walter P. Rogers, *Andrew D. White and the Modern University* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1942), p. 145.

1861. Brown was one of twelve men left in charge of a bequest of three and one half million dollars—a sum larger than any previous grant to a university.<sup>2</sup> He and his colleagues had very nearly a free hand as to the type of institution they should build; in fact, the will of Johns Hopkins showed greater concern over the control and voting of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company stock bequeathed than over the nature of the university.<sup>3</sup> Brown is an outstanding example of the background in experience and thought that made these men capable of fulfilling their opportunity by launching an institution at the forefront of American higher education.

The Board of Trustees was made up of such unsung men of good will as breathe the best of themselves into some institution and lose individuality in the memory of future generations. They contributed in different and complementary ways to the building of the new university, and at different periods of time, different men took on the heaviest burdens. But if one were to name the leading trustee of the first two decades of the Johns Hopkins University, using as a criterion the instilling of lasting qualities of excellence into the institution, the award would probably go to George William Brown.

Brown was born on October 13, 1812, in Baltimore, the son of a merchant.<sup>4</sup> His father's father was an Irish physician who immigrated to Baltimore in 1783 and became an influential member of the community.<sup>5</sup> His mother's father, Patrick Allison, was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore and a leader in the founding of St. John's College in Annapolis.<sup>6</sup> Although

<sup>2</sup> "The sum of \$3,500,000 is appropriated to a university. . . . So far as I can learn, the Hopkins foundation, coming from a single giver, is without a parallel in terms or in amount in this or any other land." Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Johns Hopkins University in Its Beginning: An Inaugural Address: Baltimore, 1876," *University Problems in the United States* (New York, 1898), pp. 3-4. For a detailed breakdown of the Hopkins bequests, see *First Annual Report of the Johns Hopkins University* (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 96-97; *Johns Hopkins University. Charter, Extracts of Will, Officers and By-Laws.* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Information by Brown's son on a membership application sheet, MdHS.

<sup>5</sup> *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia.* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 398. Henceforth cited as *Representative Men of Maryland.*

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore: Past and Present. With Biographical Sketches of Its Representative Men.* (Baltimore, 1871), p. 199; Bernard C. Steiner et al., *History of Education in Maryland.* (United States Bureau of Education. Circular of Information No. 2, Washington, 1894), p. 99.



not a Quaker, Brown attended Joseph Lancaster's Quaker school in Baltimore, beginning when he was about eight. He later attended Baltimore City College, and in 1828, before he had quite reached the age of sixteen, he entered Dartmouth as a sophomore. Because of the death of his father and the financial stringency of his family, he had to withdraw from Dartmouth before the end of his first year; but an uncle sent him on to Rutgers, where he graduated at the head of his class in 1831.<sup>7</sup> After two years' study, he won admittance to the bar and in 1839 set up a law firm with Frederick William Brune. At the time of the death of Johns Hopkins this was the oldest law firm in the city. Also in 1839, he married his partner's sister. Five of their seven children were still living in 1879.<sup>8</sup>

Brown's long career of public service began when he joined a small band of volunteers to suppress the Bank of Maryland Riot of 1835. In 1842, he was one of those who spoke out against the resolutions which a "Slaveholder's Convention" had sent to the legislature urging the outlawing of manumission and the establishing of laws to drive free Negroes from Maryland. Brown and his collaborators argued that the whole bent of past legislation in Maryland had been to encourage manumissions and that to burden the free Negroes was impolitic and oppressive. The legislature refused to pass the slaveholders' measures.<sup>9</sup> In 1846, Brown participated in an abortive attempt to introduce gradual emancipation throughout Maryland.<sup>10</sup>

In a speech on lawlessness in March, 1853, Brown advocated these municipal reforms: a uniformed city police to replace watchmen and constables, a paid fire department to replace the violent volunteers, terms in the House of Refuge for juvenile delinquents, and elimination of straw bail. This powerful and far-sighted pronouncement made him a leader in the movement for municipal reform. In 1858, he joined in organizing a "Reform Association." He was probably this association's most successful poll-watcher in the election of that year, an election in which violence and corruption put the chauvinistic Know-Noth-

<sup>7</sup> Membership application, MdHS; *Baltimore American*, 7 Sept., 1890.

<sup>8</sup> *Baltimore: Past and Present*, p. 200; *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 393.

<sup>9</sup> *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra vol. 3, Baltimore, 1887), p. 113.

ings in control of Baltimore. The fraud was so blatant that the state legislature passed a law sponsored by the Reform Association, providing safeguards for elections and entrusting control of the Baltimore police to a board of commissioners rather than the mayor. Largely because of this reform, the election in October, 1860, was a peaceable affair, and Brown was elected mayor on the independent reform ticket by a vote of two to one.<sup>11</sup> But the climax of sectional antagonisms at this time and the strategic location of Baltimore prevented Brown's tenure of office from being a peaceable progressive phase of strictly local history. He became a leading figure in the Baltimore riots which shed the first blood of the Civil War and spent more than half his term of office in prison.

After Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers on April 15, 1861, Baltimore grew tense and restive. Crowds stood day after day in front of two rival newspaper offices that took opposing views of Lincoln's call. Business was at a standstill. Aware of the potential threat to local peace, Mayor Brown issued a proclamation on April 17 asking citizens to abstain from any acts or words which might stimulate violence. But the excitement was too intense to be quelled by mere proclamations. The passage from one Baltimore railroad station to another of four companies of Northern militia on April 18 aroused the wrath of the mob in the streets. Impromptu meetings protested the war-like course of the federal government. Both the governor and Mayor Brown issued proclamations on April 18, counseling preservation of peace within Maryland and indicating that they were opposed to the use of Maryland troops for any invasion of sister states.

On the next day, April 19, one regiment from Massachusetts and one from Pennsylvania passed through the city. Again the troops had to transfer from one station to another. This was done by drawing single railroad cars by horses along a track down Pratt Street. As the isolated cars passed along this waterfront street, they were met first with jeers and hisses and then with paving stones. The crowd of outraged Baltimoreans grew in number and daring and finally placed obstructions on the track. Brown, who had been at the departure station, was informed of the

<sup>11</sup> *Baltimore: Past and Present*, p. 203; *Representative Men of Maryland*, pp. 393-394; Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, pp. 34, 34 n.

obstructive action of the mob and hurried out alone without waiting for a police escort. His commanding presence daunted the rioters so that the obstruction could be removed, but by that time, a battalion of the Massachusetts militia was marching down the mob-ridden street exchanging gunfire with the citizens. Brown hurried on till he met the troops, introduced himself to their commander, asked that they stop their double-quick step, and placed himself by the commander to march at his side.<sup>12</sup> As Brown related twenty-six years later, the commander said to him:

"We have been attacked without provocation," or words to that effect. I replied, "You must defend yourselves." I expected that he would face his men to the rear, and, after giving warning, would fire if necessary. But I said no more, for I immediately felt that, as mayor of the city, it was not my province to volunteer such advice. Once before in my life I had taken part in opposing a formidable riot, and had learned by experience that the safest and most humane manner of quelling a mob is to meet it at the beginning with armed resistance.

The column continued its march. There was neither concert of action nor organization among the rioters. They were armed only with such stones or missiles as they could pick up, and a few pistols. My presence for a short time had some effect, but very soon the attack was renewed with greater violence. The mob grew bolder. Stones flew thick and fast. Rioters rushed at the soldiers and attempted to snatch their muskets, and at least on two occasions succeeded. With one of these muskets a soldier was killed. Men fell on both sides.<sup>13</sup>

After accompanying the soldiers for about a third of a mile, Brown decided that his presence was helping neither citizens nor soldiers and stepped out of the column. A few moments later, Marshal Kane, head of the Baltimore police, arrived with a squad of his men. By forming a line behind the troops and drawing their revolvers, the police succeeded in turning the rioters back.<sup>14</sup>

Brown later addressed a huge public meeting in which he insisted that peace must be maintained in the city, that no state had the right to secede, but that it would be wrong to fight the seceding states and that they could not be conquered. He told the people that he and the governor had taken steps to prevent the passage of more troops through the city. This had been done by burning the railroad bridges by which entry to Baltimore could be gained from the north. The events of that day, the deaths of

<sup>12</sup> Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, pp. 35-49.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

four of the Massachusetts militia and twelve of the Baltimore citizens, had strong national ramifications. Brown himself felt that this shedding of blood was "a step . . . which made compromise or retreat almost impossible; then passions on both sides were aroused which could not be controlled." But also in Brown's personal development these were extremely trying and painful days. Although a different course of action can always be proposed as preferable after a crisis has passed, it is clear that his efforts to protect the troops, his part in burning the bridges, and his later contact with Lincoln in an effort to prevent a repetition of the tragedy<sup>15</sup> displayed courage, strong executive capacities, and presence of mind under fire. These characteristics were again called into use when he played a major role in the quieter drama of university building.

Although Lincoln maintained that Brown and the other officials involved had acted with perfect loyalty in these events,<sup>16</sup> on September 12 Brown, in addition to leading members of the Maryland legislature, editors, and other citizens, was arrested. He was not released until November 27, 1862, shortly after his term of office had expired. During this period of over a year, he was frequently offered his freedom, but he would not accept it under the special conditions set up. The principle which he and many of his fellow prisoners held to until released was

that, if charged with crime, they were entitled to be charged, held and tried in due form of law and not otherwise; and that, in the absence of lawful accusation and process, it was their right to be discharged without terms or conditions of any sort, and they would submit to none.<sup>17</sup>

The government had offered freedom to those who would take a special oath of allegiance. Brown refused to do this, although he never impugned those who did.<sup>18</sup> Here too was a characteristic which his tenure as a Hopkins trustee again evoked: loyalty to his own principles without forcing them on others.

After his release from prison, Brown lived unmolested as one of Baltimore's outstanding lawyers. On October 22, 1872, he was elected chief judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore. The Democratic Conservative Party nominated him, but he was basi-

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 56-59, 61-63, 71-75.

<sup>16</sup> Severn Teackle Wallis to James A. Pearce, 18 July 1861, Pearce Papers, MdHS.

<sup>17</sup> Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, p. 109, quoting Severn Teackle Wallis in the *New York World*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

cally an independent in politics and was unopposed for the office.<sup>19</sup> He held this office for a full term—until 1889. A special act of the legislature allowed him to remain in office after he passed the legal retirement age of seventy.<sup>20</sup> Twice after securing his judgeship, he sacrificed his leisure and comfort to answer what he felt to be calls of civic duty, and both times he met frustration. In 1878, he served as president of a special commission on reforming the city schools. The commission concluded that the ward system of choosing the School Board should be abolished and a non-partisan board set up, but the City Council did not put this plan into effect. In 1885 he ran for mayor on a fusion ticket of independent Democrats and Republicans, but was defeated by the regular Democratic candidate, James Hodges. One Baltimore newspaper claimed that he lost the election through fraud.<sup>21</sup>

Baltimore and Maryland held a high place in Brown's affection,<sup>22</sup> and aside from his professional and political career he served them by advancing the work of many cultural organizations. Before the Civil War, he was a member of the Baltimore chapter of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.<sup>23</sup> He was one of the founders of the Library Company of the Baltimore Bar and served as its president from 1861 to 1872. He was a founder of the Maryland Historical Society in 1844; a regent and faculty member (all faculty members were regents) of the University of Maryland, where he lectured on constitutional law from 1871 to 1872; a visitor of St. John's College;<sup>24</sup> and a trustee of the Peabody Institute from its beginning in 1857.<sup>25</sup> After his work as a trustee of the Johns Hopkins University began, he became also a trustee of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins Hospital.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 394.

<sup>20</sup> Unidentified clipping, Biographical File, MdHS.

<sup>21</sup> *Baltimore American*, 7 Sept. 1890.

<sup>22</sup> Arthur George Brown to Daniel Coit Gilman, 15 Oct. 1890, Gilman Papers, J. H. U. Library.

<sup>23</sup> Minutes of that organization, 1857-1858, MdHS.

<sup>24</sup> Steiner, p. 137; *Representative Men of Maryland*, p. 394; *Baltimore Sun*, 14 April 1874; Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, *University of Maryland: 1807-1907: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of its Founders, Benefactors, Regents, Faculty and Alumni*, 2 vols. (New York and Chicago, 1907), I, 349.

<sup>25</sup> *The Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore. The Founder's Letters and the Papers Relating to Its Dedication and Its History, Up to 1st January, 1868.* (Baltimore, 1868), p. before p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Launching of a University and Other Papers: A Sheaf of Remembrances* (New York, 1906), p. 31.



But a list of memberships and offices is a cold thing. The living George William Brown emerges more clearly in his ideas. A good example of how he developed his beliefs—beginning with a basis in custom and authority, but testing by his own experience—and of how he carried them out—peaceably, gradually, with thoughtful tentativeness—is given in his account of his attitude toward slavery:

Both from feeling and on principle I had always been opposed to slavery—the result in part of the teaching and example of my parents, and confirmed by my own reading and observation. . . . My opinions, however, did not lead me into sympathy with the abolition party. . . . The problem of slavery was to me a Gordian knot which I knew not how to untie, and which I dared not attempt to cut with the sword. Such a severance involved the horrors of civil war, with the wickedness and demoralization which were sure to follow. . . . I did not believe in secession as a constitutional right . . . , although I did believe that . . . the South had constitutional rights in regard to slavery which the North was not willing to respect. . . . I thought that the seceding States should have been allowed to depart in peace . . . , and I believed that afterwards the necessities of the situation and their own interest would induce them to return, severally, perhaps, to the old Union, but with slavery peacefully abolished; for, in the nature of things, I knew that slavery could not last forever.<sup>27</sup>

This same conscious and thoughtful linking of conservatism and willingness to change is shown in Brown's attitude to his profession. When he retired from the bench in 1889, he said in his farewell speech:

Although the conservatism of the law has passed into a proverb, it must be remembered that proverbs are never wholly true. In fact, the law is grandly progressive, and could not fail to be so, for it keeps pace with the increase of knowledge and the growth of the humanity and the sense of justice of the age. . . . Injustice according to rule has, thank heaven, ceased to be tolerated by the profession under antiquated forms of law.<sup>28</sup>

It was characteristic of Brown not to accept assertions without putting them to test. This was displayed for example in his attitude toward the liquor problem. "In my opinion," he said, "prohibition [local option] is worth trying. It is supposed to be impracticable in a large city, but that remains to be proved."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 1861, pp. 113-115.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in *Baltimore American*, 21 Oct. 1889.

<sup>29</sup> Brown to Lawrence Turnbull, 11 May 1881, copy in Gilman Papers.

In a speech in 1851 at his alma mater, Rutgers, Brown announced sorrowfully that he was "not an habitual wanderer in the pleasant and shady walks of literature," and explained that "a painstaking member of any one of the learned professions, so called, has scarcely more time for the pursuits of literature than the follower of the most humble and laborious calling. . . ." <sup>30</sup> But after winning his judgeship in 1872, Brown seems to have had leisure for intellectual pursuits. Certainly his letters to Daniel Coit Gilman show him alive to nearly all the currents of thought flowing into and out of the university. The natural sciences were furthest from his ken, but he did his best to keep informed even there. In the winter of 1850-1851, he had seen Foucault's pendulum in Paris, and had noted with pride the similar experiments which were quickly taken up at Harvard and Rutgers.<sup>31</sup> In the spring of 1883, he wrote modestly to Gilman, "I have to thank you or some one else for a copy of 'Science' which interested me as far as I could understand it—& that was not much."<sup>32</sup> But his difficulties did not prevent him from exploring another copy of the same journal which Professor Henry Newell Martin lent him that December.<sup>33</sup> He took a deeper interest in political economy, and his open-mindedness in that field is shown in this comment about Richard T. Ely, at that time an associate at Johns Hopkins:

Ely will not be pleased with the "Nation's" notice of his paper. It hardly does him justice. The critique represents the school of laissez-faire, to which I incline myself very strongly, but political Economy is not a completed science and the Historical School has something to say for itself.<sup>34</sup>

His interest in history was demonstrated as early as 1844, when he joined in forming the Maryland Historical Society, and his own venture into the subject, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861*, goes far beyond the range of personal reminiscence, displaying considerable research and critical evaluation. He wrote

<sup>30</sup> *The Old World and the New: An Address Delivered by George William Brown, Before the Philoclean and Peithessophian Societies of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., at Their Anniversary, on the 22d of July, 1851.* (New York, 1851), 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>32</sup> Brown to Gilman, 3 May 1883, Gilman Papers.

<sup>33</sup> Brown to Gilman, 10 Dec. 1883, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Brown to Gilman, 12 Aug. [1884], *ibid.*



this book in the faith that "every truthful contribution" was "not without some value."<sup>35</sup>

Out of this same faith in the value of "every truthful contribution" sprang his belief in education. In his speech at Rutgers when he was thirty-eight years old, he demonstrated that an alert interest in educational matters had served him well during a recent trip through Europe. He saw there an interest in art which he hoped America would in time acquire.<sup>36</sup> He found that in educational institutions abroad the instruction was "more thorough, and the range of studies is wider for those who desire to pursue a more extensive course." Modern languages were taught in addition to the classical. "All the appliances of study" were more numerous, especially great libraries. He found that in Paris the teachers were world-famous scholars and the course offered "embraced nearly the whole circle of human knowledge, from subjects the most abstruse and recondite, such as pure mathematics and the Hebrew, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Chinese languages, to those most practical in their character, such as agriculture and the application of chemistry to the art of dyeing."<sup>37</sup>

But he saw evils, too, in Europe's educational system. It tended to limit education and refinement to the few, leaving the many ignorant. "Art and learning," he pointed out, "instead of elevating, as they ought, the masses towards the higher classes, thus serve but to make a wider line of demarcation, and to cut off sympathy between them." Furthermore, "doubt and skepticism" descended "from the learned few to the unlearned many," and "rationalism in some countries and superstition in others" bred irreligion. American education at least reflected "the popular will," and this, Brown felt, was a true source of strength:

Until . . . public sentiment takes a direction in favor of the highest intellectual culture and of the liberal arts, neither will be effectually provided for. But public sentiment will sooner or later take such a direction, and when it does, it will move onward with a power proportioned to the grandeur of our country, the vastness of our population, and the characteristic enthusiasm of our people. . . .

There is nothing in republican institutions unfriendly to the successful cultivation of any branch of art, literature, or science. On the contrary, the history of the world seems to establish that the stimulus of freedom is

<sup>35</sup> Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 1861, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> Brown, *The Old World and the New*, pp. 15-19.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

essential to the highest achievements of the human mind in every sphere of its exercise.<sup>38</sup>

Eighteen year later, in 1869, Brown could speak at St. John's College as if his prophecy were on the verge of fulfillment. He decried Maryland's utter lack of any reputable college and blamed the bad faith of the Maryland legislature for the inability of St. John's to meet the need, but he shared with his audience the secret that was glowing inside him:

... a great university hereafter to be established in Baltimore, has been planned by the wealthiest of her citizens, a native of this county [Anne Arundel], and at some future day we may confidently expect that it will be so liberally endowed out of his large fortune as to enable it to take rank among the first and most useful universities in the land.

Brown was aware of the opportunities in the Hopkins bequest and intended to see them fulfilled in the most up-to-date manner possible. At least, such is the implication of his pointing out the good fortune of any institution of higher learning which was "not bound as closely as the institutions which have been longer organized, to the traditions of the past. In education as in everything else, methods change with the growth of knowledge and the changing wants of mankind." He described some of the new problems of education, which, seven years before the actual opening the Johns Hopkins University, he was studying and analyzing. What were the proper branches of learning to be taught and what the proper methods? Should Greek and Latin be partially or totally replaced by modern languages and Anglo-Saxon? Did the physical sciences and mathematics deserve more stress than they had been getting? Should the curriculum be broadened to allow greater entry of "mental and moral philosophy, logic, history, political economy and belles-lettres?" Since all these could not be covered adequately in four years, should the elective principle be admitted? If so, who should be allowed to do the electing? (He cited Goldwin Smith on the subject.) How could the problem of religious training be met? ("If a college is sectarian," he said, "it becomes almost necessarily narrow and one-sided; and if it is not sectarian, there is danger of its having no religion at all.") As to discipline, Brown saw the problem of choosing among a German university system of no control, a rigid military

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 35, 25, 27.

system involving individual responsibility and honor, and an "academical system" lying between these two. He wondered if the physical training should include military drill and if mechanical employment should be offered as it was at Cornell.

The new education should have two principal aims, Brown asserted. One of these, and to him the more important, was to send into the community "upright, refined, and highly cultivated young men." The other was what became the great differentiating quality of Johns Hopkins University and opened a new era in American education:

. . . to bring together a competent corps of professors, some of whom, if possible, should be teachers in the largest sense, that is, should have the ability and the leisure too, to add something by their writings and discoveries to the world's stock of literature and science. . . .

In the light of these ideas of Brown's, expressed more than five years before Daniel Coit Gilman came to Baltimore, the first president must share the credit for wanting to make the Johns Hopkins America's first research-oriented university with at least this one trustee. As Brown analyzed the situation, America had the best informed general public in the world, but there was no high intellectual superstructure. The nation had "erected a temple without a dome, a column without a capital, a spire without a pinnacle." Scholars and learned men were badly needed in all fields, Brown asserted, but he chose to confine his detailed descriptions to literature and politics. In discussing the former he gave his university ideal most concisely:

In order that we may have a nobler literature, and that our writers and thinkers, whether they be great geniuses or only gifted men, may occupy the same vantage-ground as those of the old world, with all the knowledge of the world within their reach, they should not only be highly educated scholars themselves, but have the quickening association of kindred minds, which is the very life of progress; and for such we must look to the colleges and universities of the land.<sup>39</sup>

As this university which Brown foretold, vaguely to his listeners at Rutgers and more concretely to the students at St. John's, grew and developed, having opened its doors in the fall of 1876, he applied to it the same steadfastness and tolerance which had

<sup>39</sup> George William Brown, *The Need of a Higher Standard of Education in the United States. An Address Delivered Before the Philokalian and Philomathean Societies of St. John's College* (Baltimore, 1869), pp. 8-15, 18.

marked his political and professional careers. When the Hopkins early met with success and achieved wide acclaim, he felt this fact "should strengthen the authorities to persevere steadily in our present course; with a willingness however always to listen to suggestions and to adopt improvements."<sup>40</sup> The university's dedication to truth without any ecclesiastical restraints was a source of pride to him,<sup>41</sup> and his deep and persistent interest made him a frequent visitor in its classrooms.<sup>42</sup>

In the now forgotten dispute in which Trustee John Work Garrett publicly insisted that the university should be moved from the city of Baltimore to Johns Hopkins' country estate of Clifton, it was Brown who wrote the open letter expressing the view of the majority that the modest physical plant in the city was directly related to the intellectual accomplishments of the institution. Garrett had questioned whether there had been any real achievements in the university's first seven years. In answer, Brown affirmed that it was "perhaps the noblest institution of learning ever created by an individual." He praised the restraint of Hopkins' will. Because the founder had left the trustees untrammelled, he maintained, the new university had escaped the fate of older and even of wealthier institutions. Of these, Brown said:

... they are so hampered by tradition, or by the erection of expensive buildings, or by narrow-minded restrictions imposed by donors and founders, and sometimes by all of these together, that not one at this time is capable of doing the higher university work which the Johns Hopkins is steadily and regularly performing.

The public controversy, which Brown regretted, gave him an excellent opportunity to summarize the work of the university. He clarified for the public its basic function, aware that the dream of his Rutgers and St. John's speeches had become reality. He wrote:

The stimulating effect, both on professors and students, of the system adopted by the Johns Hopkins is not generally understood in this country. In Germany it is otherwise, for there the accepted maxim is that a professor is dead when he ceases to write. Routine work is the besetting danger of colleges and universities, and can hardly be avoided where nothing is practiced except teaching what others have discovered and

<sup>40</sup> Brown to Gilman, 12 Aug. 1882, Gilman Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Brown to Gilman, 1 Apr. 1890, *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Baltimore *American*, 7 Sept. 1890.

written. As a natural consequence of what has been accomplished, the Johns Hopkins has a very far larger number of advanced students than any college or university in the United States. More, I believe, than all together.

Besides citing the unique Hopkins contribution in graduate education, Brown was at pains to correct the misconception (prevalent to this day) that Hopkins either had no undergraduate program or neglected what it had:

The undergraduate and post-graduate departments do not clash, but, on the contrary, lend to each other mutual support. The college leads up to the university, while the university is not only fed by the college, but imparts to it a portion of its own enthusiasm and love of study.

In this lengthy refutation of charges, the seventy-year-old Brown proved himself a vigorous and self-conscious participant in one of the greatest adventures in American higher education.<sup>43</sup>

Writing near the close of his life, after the Johns Hopkins had matured into one of the world's leading universities, Brown discussed his role in the Civil War. He felt that the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery were worth what they had cost. "And yet," he added, "I feel that I am living in a different land from that in which I was born, and under a different Constitution, and that new perils have arisen sufficient to cause great anxiety." These he enumerated as vast fortunes dishonestly acquired and selfishly used, loss of republican simplicity and growth of ostentation, loss of individual self-reliance, political rings and decline of popular interest in politics, demand for government paternalism, and centralization of power in the national government. "Some of these are the consequences of the war, and some are due to other causes. . . . The grave problems growing out of emancipation seem to have found a solution in an improving education of the whole people. Perhaps education is the true means of escape from the other perils to which I have alluded." <sup>44</sup> If education has proved or will prove to be the answer to the evils of industrialization, then to George William Brown should go a notable portion of the credit; for he labored earnestly and thoughtfully at the educational frontier when he helped construct the Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>43</sup> George William Brown, "The Hopkins Trust. A Reply to Mr. John W. Garrett," *Baltimore American*, 22 May 1883.

<sup>44</sup> Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 1861, p. 116.

## GUNPOWDER PRODUCTION IN POST- REVOLUTIONARY MARYLAND

By ARLAN K. GILBERT

ALTHOUGH American colonists began producing small quantities of gunpowder as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, their efforts were grossly inadequate. Only small quantities of the explosive were made by crude household methods; no extensive powder mills existed to turn out tons of ammunition. The colonies were placed in a precarious position at the start of the Revolution, and more than ninety per cent of all powder had to be obtained from outside the country during the first two and a half years of the war.<sup>1</sup> Americans admitted that "for the present we must import from abroad,"<sup>2</sup> but the inadequate output of domestic manufacturers brought about a realization of the acute need for an independence of foreign sources of supply. New mills were erected to meet the demands of the frontier and the economic requirements of a growing industrial America, and the powder industry became firmly established during the years following the Revolution.

The success of the young industry was due primarily to efforts in the Middle Atlantic states, where numerous powder mills were established during the half century following the war. The beginning of extensive powder-milling activity usually is associated with Eleuthère Irénée du Pont, who recognized the natural advantages of the Brandywine and began constructing his works near Wilmington in 1802. It was not Delaware, however, but Maryland, which first gained prominence with extensive gunpowder mills.

Recognizing the urgent demand for powder during the war,

<sup>1</sup> Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," *The American Historical Review*, XXX (1925), 277. William A. Ganoe in *The History of the United States Army* (New York, 1932), p. 6, claims that a hundred pounds of gunpowder could not be purchased in all the colonies at the beginning of the war.

<sup>2</sup> Robert T. Paine to Elbridge Gerry, June 10, 1775 (MS, New Jersey Historical Society).



the Council of Safety offered liberal proposals to anyone willing to erect the necessary mills in Maryland.<sup>3</sup> This encouragement resulted in a mill being built near Baltimore in August, 1775, and by the following year, saltpeter plants were in operation in Cecil County and in Harford County.<sup>4</sup> Arrangements were made with George Lindenberger and John McClellan to construct a powder mill near Baltimore in 1776, and John and Walter Hanson began erecting another in Charles County.<sup>5</sup> Additional would-be operators asserted to the Council of Safety that they would erect powder mills but never carried out their plans.

Construction of the first important powder works in Maryland was begun in 1790, when the Baltimore *Maryland Journal* carried a notice that "a Society of respectable Gentlemen of this place have raised an adequate Fund for the Establishment of an extensive Manufacture of Gunpowder . . . in the Vicinity of this Town."<sup>6</sup> Evidently there was little fear of the danger resulting from the close location of the powder mill, for the advertisement continued: "This important institution will not only prove highly advantageous to this state and Town, but may, if properly encouraged, become a National Benefit." Early in April, 1792, the newly erected mill exploded, and two or three of the workmen were injured. The owners immediately announced the following precautionary measure: "As there is considerable danger attending the Visits of careless People to the Works, no person will hereafter be permitted to view them, without the express Leave of a Proprietor, in Writing."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> An advertisement by the Council of Safety in the *Maryland Gazette* on August 31, 1775, gave encouragement to anyone building a powder mill near Baltimore. See also Edward Spencer, *A Sketch of the History of Manufactures in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1882), p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> The Gunpowder River, despite its appellation, evidently was not a site for early powder mills, although it was one of the oldest place names in Maryland. William B. Marye, "Perry Hall History" (Upper Falls, 1922), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, 1948), p. 142. The expense account at the Maryland Historical Society for the construction of the Hanson mill during the Revolution contains the following items: "Nails, Hinges and other work done by the smith; Brandy furnished the men when working in water; Timber for boards, shingles and other articles; Carting of Scantling, boards, shingles, stone, shells and sand for Brick. . . ." For a list of individuals from whom the state of Maryland purchased gunpowder during the war, see "An Account of Monies Paid for Ammunition Purchased by the State of Maryland," February 9, 1776-May 17, 1781 (Maryland Historical Society).

<sup>6</sup> November 23, 1790.

<sup>7</sup> *Maryland Journal*, April 10, 1792. An earlier explosion occurred on October 17, 1783, in the yard of a Mrs. Clement in Baltimore, where some gunpowder had been placed to dry. Three boys, two of them Negroes, went into the yard to clean



Despite safety measures, powder mills in Maryland, like those in other states, were demolished time after time by the accidental ignition of their own product. Their existence constantly was susceptible to rapid termination, and the mill owners were keenly aware of "the danger and risk always attending that kind of business."<sup>8</sup> Friction, faulty machinery, sparks, lightning, spontaneous combustion, and carelessness were only a few of the many causes of explosions. Incorporation of the ingredients—saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur—remained the most dangerous step, despite the replacement of stampers by rolling wheels.<sup>9</sup>

Another powder mill in the vicinity of Baltimore was erected in 1791 by a company organized the year before; Robert Gilmor, John O'Donnell, Stephen Wilson, John Holmes, and several others were members of the firm.<sup>10</sup> The mill, located on Gwynns Falls, three miles from Baltimore, rapidly attained prominence and attracted the attention of the Du Pont Company.<sup>11</sup> During the War of 1812, William Lorman, head operator, successfully obtained orders from the government.<sup>12</sup> On September 17, 1812, however, a severe accident occurred, and a considerable amount of powder made for the government was destroyed. The fire, originating in the saltpeter refinery, fortunately was discovered in time to permit the workmen to escape unharmed.<sup>13</sup> George

their pistols. One of them carelessly fired his pistol near the powder, causing it to blow up. One boy was killed and the other two seriously injured. *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 25, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> Answer of E. I. du Pont to Peter Bauduy, c. 1818 (Longwood Foundation Library), pp. 8-9. The storage, as well as the manufacture of gunpowder, was extremely dangerous. Consequently, the city of Baltimore was given the power in 1797 "to erect & provide Magazines for the storage of all gunpowder brought to the city or precincts [sic] and to compel the same to be stored in the said Magazines." Before this date, the Maryland Fire Insurance Company had control over the safe storage of powder in Baltimore. James McHenry to Henry Dearborn, March 20, 1804 (McHenry Collection, Maryland Historical Society).

<sup>9</sup> Stamping mills were prohibited in England in 1772 because of their danger. Arthur Marshall, *Explosives: Their Manufacture, Properties, Tests and History* (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia, 1861-68), II, 23; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 433.

<sup>11</sup> Vincent Boural to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, March 29, 1808 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>12</sup> Lorman to E. I. du Pont, March 13, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, ed., *Life of Eleuthère Irénée du Pont from Contemporary Correspondence* (Newark, Del., 1923-26), IX, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Niles' *Weekly Register*, September 19, 1812. Although not all powder makers took the time to make their own saltpeter, they usually refined it themselves, for the quality of the finished gunpowder depended upon the purity of the primary ingredient. The refining process consisted of putting crude saltpeter into a vat, covering

Mayers, manager of the mills, described vividly the disaster in the following account, valuable because of its detailed information about one of the earliest extensive powder mills in the United States:

On Thursday evening, the 17th inst. . . a fire broke out in the saltpetre-refinery, the awful effects of which are but too distinctly seen & too severely felt by the proprietors of this valuable establishment. Peter Anderson, who was on the spot, at the time, says he saw a fire on the kirbing of the boiler, about the size of his hand; but before he could get water to extinguish it, it communicated to the floor above. I was some distance from the refinery, when the alarm was given, & saw a dark smoke ascending; when I got to the house, it was on fire, above & below; I quenched it, below, & endeavour'd to do so above. The workmen procured a ladder, to enable them to throw water on the upper floor; but the smoke increas'd & the fire spread with such astonishing rapidity, that it was found to be impracticable. I endeavour'd to throw water on the side of the roof next to the falls—but the nitre had begun to melt—& the water falling on it caus'd a number of slight explosions, which compell'd me to desist. Some strove to cut away the roof, but the heat & smoke drove them away. From the time the fire was discover'd till the house was-of-a-blaze was not more than 4 or 5 minutes.

I now saw it was impossible to save the houses; as the store-house join'd them & contain'd a quantity of sulphur—st. petre—st. petre-bags—barrels & lumber; & a variety of other combustible matter; & between the store & packing houses—a quantity of plank timber, &c. The houses being close together, the destruction of the whole was inevitable. My family being much alarm'd, I hasten'd to the dwelling to hurry them off. Several of the men continued to exert themselves to save the property—throwing water on the rooves—cutting the store-roof—carrying powder (12 bbls. which were lost) from the packing-house to the lane &c. As soon as I caution'd my family, I press'd the men to depart; & with difficulty persuaded them of their imminent danger, the fire being now on the store-house roof—they at last moved—and shortly happen'd the first tremendous explosion—which was succeeded by those of the three mills—the shocks were exceedingly severe—a vast quantity of smoke now cover'd the ruins, & adjoining ground to a considerable distance. As soon as the smoke was a little dispers'd, I could discern the drying-house, standing—with the roof flat on the upper-floor, & on fire.<sup>14</sup> I thot all was over & approached—but

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it with water, and placing it over a low fire. The mass was stirred until all the saltpeter dissolved, and as the scum rose to the top, it was taken off. This boiling was repeated as often as necessary. "On the Manufacture of Salt Petre," in James Mease, ed., *Archives of Useful Knowledge*, III (1813), 92-93.

<sup>14</sup> The drying house produced artificial heat to remove moisture from the grains of gunpowder. Although large powder works had extensive drying houses, most mills used only small rooms warmed by a stove. See *The Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, new series, II (1814), 317. Powder also could be dried on large tables exposed to the sun.

soon perceived it had not exploded; the men however return'd to extinguish the fire on the upper-mill. I call'd repeatedly to them to make their escape, but to no purpose, they either did not hear me, or did not attend. The fire on the drying-house increas'd, & I escaped but a small distance—when it blew up with a tremendous report. The scene was awfully sublime; the air was fill'd with flaming matter, resembling sky-rockets play'd off by immense fireworks—what sensations of horror fill'd my agitated mind—destruction with its horrible visage seem'd on every hand. I expected every man in the yard to be number'd with the dead—but in this I was happily mistaken—none were hurt. It is owing to their industry that the upper-mill is still standing.

Much cr.[edit] is due to Mr. Lucas, Mr. Rall, & some of the powder-makers for their great & hazardous exertions, in the most critical moments. They were in & about the mill when the drying-house blew up—but were not aware of their danger. Several of our neighbours now assisted us in bringing water to extinguish the fire; which was happily effected.

The machinery of the upper-mill is in tolerable order—some of the stampers are burnt—the mortar block & bolting-cloths are lost—the wheels & stones are all good—the wall is not much injured—but the roof, windows, & doors are ruin'd. The water-wheel of the granulating mill<sup>16</sup> is somewhat injured from the fall of the wall, but I believe nearly all the other wheels & shafts are good—the house is destroy'd—the water-wheel of the lower mill is all that is saved of it—excepting the wall, the front of which is injured. The magazine, coal,<sup>16</sup> & dwelling houses are materially injured—the packing & drying houses are entirely ruin'd—the walls of the st. petre-house & part of those of the store-house are standing—the large & one square, copper-boiler are not injured—the melting kettle<sup>17</sup> is good—and, excepting three, the iron kettles appear to be on good order. . . . The kettle for refining sulphur is safe—one stove belonging to the drying house is whole—the other one has one plate broken—the

<sup>16</sup> Powder was cut into grains of various sizes in the granulating mill. A simple graining procedure used during the Revolution made use of a sifter "with a sheep-skin bottom, burnt full of holes . . . which, being moved to and fro, will force the powder through the holes, and form the grain. . . ." Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, February 16, 1776. E. I. du Pont patented a graining machine on November 23, 1804, which consisted of a revolving copper barrel, pierced with holes the size of powder grains.

<sup>16</sup> "Coal" refers to charcoal, another ingredient of gunpowder. Charcoal made from light woods, such as willow, alder, and poplar, is most suitable, for it can be finely divided, absorbs little moisture from the air, is readily inflammable, and leaves little ash after combustion. The wood was used in the form of branches about an inch in diameter, cut in the spring and stripped of their bark; the branches then were baked to form charcoal. Lammot and/or Alfred du Pont, undated notebook on the method of manufacturing gunpowder (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>17</sup> Kettles were used both for refining saltpeter and for sublimating sulphur. After crude sulphur was melted in an iron pot over a low fire, it was strained through a double thickness of cloth. George Napier, "Observations on Gunpowder," *The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures*, II (1795), 284.

irons belonging to the new grinding mill are all found; but the harden'd ones have lost their temper, which may easily be restor'd. The mill which was building is much injured. The cog-wheels are not much so—the water-wheel is considerable torn—but it would not be very expensive to repair it. The floors are tolerable; but the principal part of the wall is broken.

I have now given as correct an account of this terrible accident as possible—as well as the present state of the apparatus. Now, must beg leave to address myself to the worthy proprietors of this once valuable factory. The loss is indeed exceedingly great, who can view it without the strongest emotions of sorrow. I feel with the keenest sensibility my best designs frustrated. . . . I humbly hope no blame will be attach'd to me—I feel a consciousness of having done my best endeavours, both to preserve the mills & other parts from accident, & to economize things as much as possible. I should indeed have been guilty of the vilest ingratitude to have done otherwise. . . .<sup>18</sup>

William Lorman, head operator, explained that "explosion succeeded explosion—till every mill on the place, with the Drying house & packing house, were demolished or nearly so."<sup>19</sup> In a letter to E. I. du Pont on September 26, Lorman indicated that the accident had not been intentional: "I am happy to state to you, that I believe it did not originate from design. No stranger had been at the mills the day of the accident—nor were there any persons about the place upon whom suspicion could rest." Perhaps DuPont, interested in protecting his own property, feared that Lorman's mills had been blown up by a supporter of the English cause in the war. The editor of the *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, aware of the urgent need for powder, claimed that "the times and the merit of the owners, cause this accident to be much regretted."<sup>20</sup> Suffering a loss of twenty thousand dollars, the proprietors decided to "decline rebuilding the mills,"<sup>21</sup> and the history of the works ended with the 1812 disaster.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Mayers, "Narrative of the Destruction of the Balt. Powder works" (MS at Hagley Museum received as gift from Lamont du Pont Copeland in January, 1957). Mayers' document contains information about early powder mills difficult to find elsewhere.

<sup>19</sup> Lorman to E. I. du Pont, September 26, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library). The *Federal Gazette* of September 18, 1812, reported that five or six buildings were demolished by the accident.

<sup>20</sup> September 19, 1812.

<sup>21</sup> Lorman to E. I. du Pont, September 26, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>22</sup> Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 29. E. I. du Pont wrote to William Lorman at Baltimore on March 5, 1814, commenting that the latter had since "given up this Kind of

Other extensive powder works, the Bellona mills, were established on Jones' Falls, about seven miles from Baltimore, in 1800 or 1801. Although gaining a national reputation under the ownership of James Beatty, the firm experienced a series of crippling disasters. The first occurred on November 18, 1801, when a workman took "the burning snuff of a lamp-wick" in his fingers and threw it hastily into a heap of powder:

The explosion was instantaneous—the house [mill], 30 by 40 feet, with every atom in it, was mounted in the air. Of the roof, not a vestige can be found; and the walls, which were of massy stone, are levelled with the ground. The man who was least injured, says, the first place he found himself in, after the return of his senses, was the mill-race, without knowing, for a while, what could have placed him there.<sup>23</sup>

In September, 1812, a large quantity of saltpeter was destroyed when the refinery of the Bellona mills burned. The flames were intense, and sparks spreading to the roofs of four adjacent powder mills caused them to explode. The sulphur storehouse also caught fire and was totally destroyed with all its contents.<sup>24</sup> Despite the accident, the Bellona firm became the leading Maryland producer and competed actively with E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company. By 1814, the product was "warranted to be fully equal . . . to any at Market."<sup>25</sup> In the following year, E. I. du Pont stated that "one of our principal motives is to strive against the competition of the Baltimore factories."<sup>26</sup>

On August 29, 1820, the Bellona mills were rocked again by a severe explosion, which produced a shock felt in Washington. At least three workers were killed, and others severely wounded.<sup>27</sup> One laborer was blown three hundred yards from the mill in which he was working, and "his head, body, legs and arms, in detached pieces, [were] found in several directions!"<sup>28</sup> The *Federal Gazette* on August 30 reported that the powder yard was

business." Letter Book of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, Old Stone Office Records (MS, Hagley Museum). The abbreviation L. B. will be used in subsequent citations.

<sup>23</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, November 24, 1801.

<sup>24</sup> Alfred Victor du Pont to Benjamin Gerhard, July 20, 1850, in Allan J. Henry, ed., *The Life of Alexis Irénée du Pont* (Philadelphia, 1945), I, 152.

<sup>25</sup> *Sentinel of Freedom*, April 19, 1814.

<sup>26</sup> To A. C. Cazenove, March 29, 1815, L. B.

<sup>27</sup> *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 30, 1820; *Daily National Intelligencer*, September 1, 1820.

<sup>28</sup> *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 2, 1820.



"a scene of awful and utter desolation." The stamping mill, drying room, graining mill, and packing house were seriously damaged,<sup>29</sup> and James Beatty was not certain whether or not he should rebuild. He was greatly discouraged by his failure during previous years to receive as profit more than three per cent of his investment, which was not nearly enough to cover losses from explosions.<sup>30</sup> According to E. I. du Pont, "A Powder manufacturer who would only clear 10 pr. ct. of his capital, which in any other business would be a reasonable profit, would be sure to go to ruin one day or another, as he would not be able to bear the losses occasioned by explosions."<sup>31</sup> Realizing that complete rebuilding of the damaged structures would require both time and energy, Beatty in the 1820 census listed his profit as variable due to "casualties in the Machinery & Buildings."<sup>32</sup>

After beginning to repair the mills, Beatty was handicapped again when a serious explosion took place on October 15, 1821. Four persons, including the manager, were killed, and two others were injured.<sup>33</sup> Another workman was killed by a minor explosion on January 23, 1830, but Beatty recovered quickly from the financial loss and could compete with other leading firms by June.<sup>34</sup> E. I. du Pont, realizing the strength of the Bellona establishment, was unwilling in 1831 to surrender completely his sales in Maryland: "Nevertheless we should not like to give up altogether the Baltimore market on account of the competition of Mr. Beatty [Beatty]."<sup>35</sup> The Bellona mills were rebuilt following a subsequent accident on April 19, 1833, only to be damaged by

<sup>29</sup> All of the buildings included in the 1820 census figures were damaged badly. Twenty-three men at this time were employed in the operation of the mills. Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

<sup>30</sup> Bradford & Cooch to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, August 30, 1820 (Old Stone Office Records, Hagley Museum).

<sup>31</sup> To P. P. F. de Grand, June 22, 1821, L. B. Financial strain placed upon powder manufacturers by explosions was very great, for the expense of repairing and rebuilding the mills had to be met at the same time that production rates were lowered. Borrowing, rapid rebuilding, and extension of sales enabled many operators to recover from explosions.

<sup>32</sup> Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

<sup>33</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 400.

<sup>34</sup> *New-York Evening Post*, January 27, 1830; E. I. du Pont to Patrick Durkin, June 21, 1830, L. B.

<sup>35</sup> To Bradford & Cooch, April 2, 1831, L. B. Du Pont sold a considerable quantity of powder in Baltimore, "where our powder obtained a decided preference at the very door of Beatty's factory." E. I. du Pont to John A. Forsyth & Co., November 26, 1827, L. B.

other explosions until 1856,<sup>36</sup> when the site finally was sold to the city of Baltimore for its waterworks. The stream was dammed, so that most of the old mill area is now covered by Lake Roland. The name of the powder works still is preserved, however, in Bellona Avenue.<sup>37</sup>

Another powder mill of importance was located about seven miles from Baltimore and operated by a Mr. Levering. The establishment is first mentioned in 1808, and by 1811 Levering was selling his product at such low rates that the Du Pont Company was forced to reduce its prices.<sup>38</sup> On October 4, 1817, the property was destroyed by three successive explosions, creating a shock throughout Baltimore. Five workers were killed instantly, and four others were injured seriously by the ignition of two hundred barrels of gunpowder. One of the foremen believed that the workmen "must have accidentally carried some sparks into the mill, which . . . alighted upon the sleeves of their coates, or . . . upon their pantaloons."<sup>39</sup> The escape of one of the survivors was most miraculous: "He was blown by the first explosion . . . from one mill on the roof of another; another explosion immediately afterwards ensued, by which this unhappy victim of the second explosion was thrown on the water wheel, and from thence into the stream."<sup>40</sup> The difference in time between the various explosions was caused by the spreading of the flames from the burning rafters and beams of the first mill to the adjoining buildings. Fortunately, the fire did not ignite the powder magazine, but property damage was estimated at forty thousand dollars. E. I. du Pont indicated the severity of the explosion when he

<sup>36</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 24, 1833; *Delaware Gazette*, April 23, 1833. On March 6, 1840, the drying house blew up with a loud explosion, reported to have been felt as far as Chestertown. *The Sun*, March 18, 1840. Two persons were killed in another disaster on May 30, 1848. Scharf, *Chronicles*, pp. 527-528.

<sup>37</sup> James Beatty, owner of the mills, gave the name "Bellona" to the powder works for the Greek goddess of war, because his daughter was born on the day of the Battle of Waterloo. See column by Carroll Dulaney, *Baltimore News-Post*, July 9, 1937. The Bellona mills quickly sank into oblivion, and on January 24, 1936, Edmond Fontaine wrote in the *Baltimore News-Post*: "After years of inquiry I cannot find any one who knows much about the powder factory." Information about Beatty, an influential and respected citizen of Baltimore, is contained in the biography file of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

<sup>38</sup> Briscoe and Partridge to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, September 13, 1811 (Longwood Foundation Library). Du Pont wrote on September 6, 1817 to Vaughan & Dahlgren that the explosives he sold at Baltimore were "the lowest powder we have ever sold." L. B.

<sup>39</sup> *Federal Gazette*, October 6, 1817.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*



stated that it "put out of the market one of our largest competitors."<sup>41</sup>

Another Maryland powder maker was Thomas Ewell, who established a mill near Bladensburg in 1811. Not being a professional powderman, Ewell needed much technical assistance if his mill was to succeed. After securing sizeable government contracts, he pleaded with E. I. du Pont for help in filling them—either in the form of a good superintendent or a partnership.<sup>42</sup> Du Pont, however, refused to aid Ewell, who continued to plead for assistance and became abusive when his requests were turned down: "Are you alarmed that the manufactory of Essone [powder works of the French government] which you have copied is about to be introduced over all the U. States? And that the eyes of the people will be soon opened to the impudence of the pretensions of the exclusive powder-makers of Brandywine?"<sup>43</sup> Forced to admit that he did not understand the technical problems of making powder, Ewell advertised in newspapers for a capable superintendent for his mills.<sup>44</sup> He even tried to entice workmen from the Du Pont mills:

A preference will be given to those who have worked at the manufactories in the United States, made on the principles of the French establishment at Essonne and at L'isle de France, and as an inducement for the best hands to come on, there shall be a regular promotion in the establishment from the more laborious work and low wages to better situations. . . .<sup>45</sup>

Wearied by Ewell's attempts to bribe his laborers, Du Pont referred to the Bladensburg manufacturer as "a kind of crack

<sup>41</sup> To William Cornell, October 28, 1817, L. B.

<sup>42</sup> Ewell to du Pont, December 8, 1811 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library). The various Baltimore mills at this time were receiving the largest proportion of government orders for powder. See du Pont to Ewell, December 14, 1811 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library). Ewell, however, hoped to obtain "all the favor heretofore shewn to the Baltimore mills," since the "government had pledged itself to give very particular patronage to my manufactory near Washington." To E. I. du Pont, December 22, 1811 (*ibid.*).

<sup>43</sup> Ewell to DuPont, April 12, 1812 (Henry B. du Pont Collection, Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>44</sup> In the *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1812, Ewell advertised for an "able superintendent of character—the highest salary will be given to one who can act in that capacity." He needed information about such matters as the size of saltpeter kettles, the amount of water to be added in grinding powder, and the method of punching holes in leather to granulate powder. Letter to Charles Munns, November 24, 1811 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>45</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 14, 1812.

brained fellow . . . who with all the bombast published by him in the newspapers is obliged to offer to some poor rough Irishmen of our factory \$8 or 900 per year for all the science which is to set up his factory above all others. . . ." <sup>46</sup> Ewell resorted to writing letters to various workmen in his attempt to secure a labor supply, but with no success. He finally got some laborers by declaring that his mill belonged to the United States government. <sup>47</sup>

Because of the great demand for skilled powder workers, it was not unusual for manufacturers to entice other owners' laborers away from them. The Ewell case is far from being an exception. It is probable that many of the Baltimore powder mills used workers who had been trained at the Du Pont establishment. At least one former Du Pont employee, John Hagherty, worked at the Bellona mills. <sup>48</sup> In 1816 Pierre Samuel du Pont made the exaggerated claim that each of the twenty-five mills in Pennsylvania had been "formed by workmen enticed from us." <sup>49</sup> Learning from experience to safeguard information, E. I. du Pont made it a policy to prevent "intelligent workmen" from seeing his machinery. <sup>50</sup>

After obtaining a crew of powdermen, Thomas Ewell operated his mill efficiently, although much of the powder was of poor quality. <sup>51</sup> By November, 1812, he would have been willing to let somebody else take the risk of making gunpowder. <sup>52</sup> A month

<sup>46</sup> To William Lorman, April 2, 1812, L. B. Ewell also attempted to bribe workers in Stephen Decatur's mill at Belleville, New Jersey. Decatur to E. I. du Pont, July 17, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>47</sup> Public statement by E. I. du Pont concerning the Ewell affair, June 16, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, *op. cit.*, IX, 33-36. Despite Ewell's claim, the government of the United States, unlike foreign countries such as England and France, did not have its own powder works. During the Revolutionary War, the government imported most of its powder, but after that it increased greatly the number of contracts with domestic manufacturers. The Ordnance Department, established on May 14, 1812, had the duty of inspecting the powder purchased from private individuals. Numerous arsenals were established, but a national gunpowder factory was never constructed. See "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Office Chief of Ordnance" (typescript, n. d., National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch), p. 1 ff.

<sup>48</sup> E. I. du Pont to Samuel Wetherill and Company, October 13, 1826, L. B.

<sup>49</sup> To wife, December 14, 1816 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>50</sup> To William Kemble, November 29, 1821, L. B.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Law to E. I. du Pont, December 1, 1812, in Bessie G. du Pont, *op. cit.*, IX, 66.

<sup>52</sup> Ewell's "works are to be given for the risque of making the powder for one year." Law to E. I. du Pont, November 14, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library). By this time, Ewell was considered "a favorite, as his manufacture brings money to the City by employing hands." *Ibid.*, December 25, 1812.

later, he suffered the only accident on record when the drying house with two thousand pounds of powder exploded,<sup>53</sup> but production was not lowered.

On December 7, 1813, Ewell received a patent for the manufacture of gunpowder, which listed three improvements: boiling the ingredients by steam, a method of incorporating them with rollers, and a technique for granulating the powder.<sup>54</sup> These three advancements, according to Ewell, would "most truly diminish more than one half the risk, the waste and the expence of the manufacture."<sup>55</sup> Most important of the improvements was the wheel for incorporating the ingredients—saltpeter, sulphur, and charcoal. Soon wheel mills became regular equipment in the United States, although a few of the more dangerous stamping mills persisted until the early twentieth century.<sup>56</sup> In spite of his patent, however, Ewell could not make a success of his business. In 1817 his property was offered for sale, and the enterprise came to an abrupt end.<sup>57</sup>

Another powder mill near Bladensburg was operated by David Bussard. On April 18, 1817, the first accident occurred when powder in the pounding mill ignited, probably from friction:

Two men passed in a moment from time to eternity, and two others were dreadfully mangled or wounded—the one a white man with a family, the other a man of color. The injury to the works, it is understood, cannot be repaired at a less expence than five thousand dollars. The explosion, it is believed, occasioned no injury beyond the limit of the works.<sup>58</sup>

A second accident at Bussard's establishment on July 8, 1818, killed four or five persons, but a magazine of powder a short distance from the explosion was "miraculously preserved."<sup>59</sup> The Ordnance Department of the United States government reported on July 18 that Bussard's "powder works having been lately

<sup>53</sup> Law to du Pont, December 25, 1812 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>54</sup> Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 200.

<sup>55</sup> Advertisement in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 30, 1813. See also Thomas Ewell, "Gunpowder," *The Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, new series, II (1814), 317-318.

<sup>56</sup> Arthur P. Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (New York, 1927), p. 121.

<sup>57</sup> Bessie G. du Pont, *E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, a History, 1802-1902* (New York, 1920), p. 39. In the *Daily National Intelligencer* on July 9, 1817, Ewell offered for sale his powder works, which were "on an extensive plan . . . in complete order. . . ."

<sup>58</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer*, April 19, 1817; *Federal Gazette*, April 21, 1817.

<sup>59</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 10, 1818.

destroyed at Bladensburg by an explosion, renders him incapable of fulfilling the engagement [contract]." <sup>60</sup> Bussard recovered from the accident, however, and was able to continue making contracts with the government for quantities as high as forty thousand pounds. <sup>61</sup>

The 1820 census contains information about an additional powder establishment in the Baltimore area—the Aetna Gunpowder Company. <sup>62</sup> Located about four miles from the city, the Aetna mills employed twenty men to operate two stamping mills with thirty-six mortars, a graining mill, a refinery, a drying house, and four magazines. The mills were described as having been "in constant operation near seven years, and preserved from accident." <sup>63</sup> The good fortune did not continue, for on September 25, 1824, a serious explosion resulted in heavy damage, the extent of which was estimated at five thousand dollars. The blast, attributed by the owners to an incendiary, took place in

the principal building of the factory, amidst several hundred pounds of the combustible materials, and was so violent in its effects as to blow to atoms the house and machinery, even to the foundations. The workmen had suspended all operations and closed the mill at sunset, and were totally unaware of the explosion until it had occurred. One of the workmen had a very narrow escape from the fragments of the mill—but providentially no one sustained personal injury. The report and shock were distinctly heard and felt throughout the city. . . . <sup>64</sup>

Recovering from the disaster, the Aetna mills continued to rank among the leading Maryland powder producers. <sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Report of the Select Committee . . . Ordnance Department* (Washington, 1821), p. 22.

<sup>61</sup> On August 1, 1818, Bussard agreed to deliver forty thousand pounds to the government within three years. He made another contract for thirty-five thousand pounds on August 30, 1822. Notebook of contracts and records relating to the procurement of ordnance and ordnance stores, October, 1812-May, 1829 (National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch). Bussard served as justice of the peace in Georgetown and was a trustee of the Georgetown Poorhouse. Josephine Cobb, Curator of Columbia Historical Society, to author, April 2, 1957.

<sup>62</sup> Another powder mill, owned by the firm of Williams and Stull, was located at Bladensburg. Williams and Stull wrote to E. I. du Pont on July 9, 1816, and offered to sell their mills: "They are in very complete order & being at the seat of Government gives them many advantages. We have done very well with them since they have belonged to us, which is about three years." (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>63</sup> Fourth United States census, 1820, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce).

<sup>64</sup> *American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 27, 1824.

<sup>65</sup> E. I. du Pont to Bradford & Cooch, July 28, 1829, L. B. *The Baltimore Directory, Corrected up to June 1829* (Baltimore, 1829), p. 276, contains the fol-

Although handicapped by severe explosions, Maryland powder manufacturers succeeded in producing large quantities of explosives in the post-Revolutionary period. The mills in the state marked "a change in the powder industry from one having more or less a 'homespun' or local character to one of national importance and magnitude."<sup>66</sup> Early in the nineteenth century, the growing industry expanded from Maryland to include the other Middle Atlantic states. As early as 1791, Alexander Hamilton reported that "no small progress has been . . . made in the manufacture of this very important article."<sup>67</sup> In 1807, the Baltimore powder agent of the Du Pont Company wrote to Wilmington: "The market here is fully supplied by the powder made at the manufactories in the neighbourhood of this place, which has latterly been found to be of a very good quality and given every satisfaction to purchasers." The agent concluded his report by observing that "the importations of English powder into this place for a long time past have been very inconsiderate."<sup>68</sup>

The 1810 census figures, which give the first summary of powder production, list Maryland as manufacturing over a fifth of the nation's total of almost one and a half million pounds. Although early census figures frequently are inadequate, those for Maryland powder production are reliable. They indicate that the state ranked first with a total output of 323,447 pounds at nine different establishments. Mills near Baltimore produced 312,500 pounds of the total.<sup>69</sup> Albert Gallatin in 1810 pointed out that gunpowder made in the vicinity of Baltimore was "of a quality said to be equal to any imported,"<sup>70</sup> and he indicated that the mills were producing twice as much as the Du Pont works. He informed the House of Representatives that the manufacture of powder in the United States "could at any time be made equal to the consumption, with mills in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsyl-

lowing item: "Rowe, J. K. merchant and president of the Aetna powder company, cor of Pratt and South."

<sup>66</sup> Van Gelder and Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>67</sup> Report by Hamilton on December 5, 1791, in *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States* (Washington, 1928), p. 129.

<sup>68</sup> Isaac McKim to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, October 3, 1807 (Longwood Foundation Library).

<sup>69</sup> Third United States census, 1810, original returns from the assistant marshals (National Archives and Records Service, Division of Commerce). The *American Watchman* on February 27, 1811, listed only six powder mills in Maryland.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted in Walter Lowrie, ed., *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive* (Washington, 1832-61), Finance, II, 429.



vania and other places."<sup>71</sup> One statistician pointed out in 1819 that almost a third of the nation's powder was being made near Baltimore.<sup>72</sup> Maryland, more than any other state, was responsible for the fact that "the improvement in the manufacture of gun powder . . . has exceeded all calculation."<sup>73</sup>

Maryland was the first center in the United States of significant, extensive powder works, and not until the Du Pont Company became firmly established were the Baltimore mills seriously rivaled. Pennsylvania, the other early leader in gunpowder production, had few mills comparable to those near Baltimore; instead, there were numerous smaller works scattered throughout Philadelphia, Delaware, and Montgomery counties.<sup>74</sup>

Holding a prominent place in the powder industry in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Maryland slowly increased its production and reached 669,125 pounds in 1840. Other states, however, increased at a more rapid rate, so that Maryland dropped to fifth place.<sup>75</sup> By 1860, only one powder mill remained, and it was an outgrowth of the Bellona works on the east branch of Jones' Falls.<sup>76</sup> Soon nitroglycerin and dynamite were to succeed black powder as America's leading explosive.<sup>77</sup>

The half century following the Revolutionary War had witnessed the development of a new industry first centered in Maryland—an industry which succeeded in spite of dangers unlike those of any other mills in the nation. Enterprising powder manufacturers in Maryland established mills, overcame many hazards, and produced large quantities of explosives. Through their efforts, the state led the nation in powder production. In these post-Revolutionary years, a new industry—dangerous but essential—was established in the United States.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> D. B. Warden, *Statistical, Political, and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (Edinburgh, 1819), III, 269.

<sup>73</sup> *American Watchman*, August 18, 1810. The price of powder was lower in Baltimore than in any other section of the country. E. I. du Pont to Briscoe & Partridge, October 23, 1817, L. B.

<sup>74</sup> Most of the early Pennsylvania powder mills were located within forty miles of Philadelphia. See Book II of the Third Census (Philadelphia, 1814), photographic facsimile printed under the title *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the Year 1810, Digested and Prepared by Tench Coxe of Philadelphia* (New York, n. d.), p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Van Gelder and Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Williams Haynes, *American Chemical Industry* (New York, 1954), I, 187, 366-368.

## EVESHAM, A BALTIMORE VILLA

By BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE \*

TODAY, when our progeny threaten to engulf us with their numbers and their endless sea of new suburbia pushing the visible boundaries of Baltimore into the once beautiful surrounding hills, it might be appropriate to reflect upon what this means to an old estate called Evesham, shrunken from its former glory but still weathering the vicissitudes of "progress." Evesham is typical of many of the ancient country seats that have survived in that it needs some repairs. But the fact that it has survived this far is a miracle and what makes it untypical of similar houses which have stood in the path of Baltimore housing developments.

Now reduced to five acres, Evesham can be found a half mile east of York Road on Northern Parkway off Tunstall Road. It is part of the "Drumquehastle" tract of 810 acres patented in 1755 by William Govane, son of James (buried at Drumquehastle Cemetery near Walker Avenue in 1783), whose family gave its name to the village of Govanstown.<sup>1</sup> "Drumquehastle" was made up of 520 acres of "Friends Discovery," patented by Job Evans in 1695; 98 acres of "Stones Delight," patented by Richard Taylor in 1717; the entirety of "Locust Neck" patented for 50 acres by Henry Morgan in 1744 "and certain vacant land contiguous to same." Morgan purchased these tracts, mortgaged them in 1746, and failing to make payments—how timely!—lost them. William Govane bought them by 1750 and had them patented as "Drumquehastle." He died in 1784 and his son William James Govane inherited the lands. When he died in 1807 portions of the estate were left to Mary Govane Howard, but in 1803 100 acres had been sold to Richard Keys. This latter property passed to James McCormick in 1822 and shortly there-

\* In the preparation of this article the author wishes to especially thank Messrs. Hall Harris, Jr., William Patterson, Lennox Birkhead Clemens and the staffs of the Hall of Records, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Peale Museum, and Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>1</sup> Lee McCardell, "Govanstown," *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 11, 1940.



after to Thomas McCoy. Horatio G. Armstrong purchased it in 1830, and he sold it to Charles R. Taylor in 1841, excepting nine acres for Dr. Lennox Birkhead. The property was again sold in 1845 to Henry Henderson and a year later approximately fifty-five acres together with buildings and improvements were sold to Joseph W. Patterson.<sup>2</sup>

Joseph Wilson Patterson, son of the well-known Baltimore merchant William Patterson (1752-1835) and his wife Dorcas Spear (1761-1814), was born on December 6, 1786. He was accustomed to wealth from childhood, and it was his sister Betsy who married Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the Emperor Napoleon, in 1803. His father was a prime mover in organizing the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and served as its president. Joseph was on the committee formed in 1826 to investigate the possibilities of such a venture and apparently was guided along in business by his able father. He married Charlotte Nichols (1793-1860) in 1817 and three of his children, born before 1827, William, Charlotte and Joseph, were named in his father's will. His daughter, Caroline, who was not mentioned, was not born until 1828. By 1836 he was head of J. W. & E. Patterson, Iron Merchants (S.W. corner Pratt and Commerce Streets) and lived at 96 Hanover Street. That year he became president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In 1837 he removed to 20 South Street near Baltimore Street and kept this as his town house until 1859.<sup>3</sup>

Joseph had inherited William Patterson's "Coldstream" estate of 115 acres in 1835 but apparently preferred the Govanstown area for a country estate. (Tradition has it that his sister met Bonaparte at the Govanstown races.) It had become more accessible from the city when an omnibus service to Govanstown was started in 1844. There was also a weekly stage line which had been established along York Road in 1797. After the purchase of fifty-five acres of Drumquehastle in 1846 Joseph Patterson set about developing it. By 1857 he had named his place "Evesham" and had altered and added to the existing house in such a contemporary and grand manner that it was thought worthy of being illustrated on the border of Robert Taylor's 1857 map of

<sup>2</sup> John Hively of the Hall of Records searched the land titles for the author and prepared a detailed report which has been placed in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Land title records in the possession of the Clemens family were also available to the author.

<sup>3</sup> See Baltimore City Directories.

Baltimore and Baltimore County. There can be little doubt that he engaged one of the leading architects of the day, although who it was has not yet been determined. It may have been Edmund G. Lind, who did Guilford in 1857 and a number of other fashionable houses about this time. Mr. Patterson wanted the newest style, and the latest was neo-Gothic.

Baltimore architects were pushing Gothic quite early. In 1807 Maximilian Godefroy did the Gothic façade for St. Mary's Seminary Chapel, and a Baltimorean, Robert Gilmore, had Alexander Jackson Davis of New York design Glen Ellen, near Loch Raven, in this style in 1832, but the greatest impetus came when in 1835 Sir Charles Barry and A. N. W. Pugin designed Westminster New Palace, London, in Gothic. The rush was on. Andrew Jackson Downing, the greatest of all the romantic critics said in 1846, "the Greek Temple disease has passed its crisis . . . and the people have survived it."<sup>4</sup> In fact the injury to the traditional notion of formality was so serious that the modern concept of the free plan might be said to date from this period.

Joseph Patterson had but to observe the current local creations for inspiration. Robert Cary Long, Jr., one of the best Baltimore architects of this period, was doing Gothic designs for St. Alphonsus Church (1842), Tudor Gothic Franklin Street Presbyterian Church (1844) and the Greenmount Cemetery Gates on York Road (1847).<sup>5</sup> The old Odd Fellows' Hall was started in 1844 and the Aged Womens' Home in 1849. Mr. Patterson, in addition, may have seen copies of Ackermann's fashionable *Repository of Arts*, containing measured drawings of original Gothic structures and details. Robinson's *Rural Architecture* was another popular source of Gothic architecture.

Patterson developed his dream into an impressive country seat in a romantic style setting. The graveled entrance drive wandered a quarter of a mile from the Gatehouse on Evesham Avenue (later enlarged and occupied in 1902 by an architect, George Norbury MacKenzie, 3rd, son of the genealogist-historian) down the hill across a rustic wooden bridge over Chinquapin Run and up the long hill to the circle in front of the house (old Johnny Fisher,

<sup>4</sup> Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition and Americans* (New York, 1955), p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> See plates 76, 80, 81, in Howland and Spencer *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953).

who cut the hay, remembered that the drive was swept with hand brooms once a week). Exotic, and at that time rare, trees and shrubs were planted along this drive and around the house: Ginko (maidenhair) from Japan with its fan shaped leaves, white mahogany, linden, spruce, cedar, larch from Scotland, golden ash, white pine, copper beech and many other species. On the back circle, which led to the large Gothic wooden barn (now a stuccoed house) stood the plank-frame caretaker's cottage (which was later moved about a hundred feet to the southeast where it stands today), also Gothic and with diamond-paned casement windows. Other small outbuildings, possibly built by an earlier owner, were located to the east of the house. The corn fields spread to the north and hay fields stretched northeastward down the hill behind the barn to the hay mow and woods beyond near the stream (now in a narrow park).

The house stands majestically on the hill, rising up on its two-foot-thick stone and brick walls, stuccoed and scored to resemble cut stone. Two steeply gabled wings with heavy pierced barge boards, finials, and bay windows flank the centered cupola, since de-roofed down to the handrail line. They act as welcoming arms around a gabled one-story entrance porch, its roof supported on Gothic shaft columns and four centered Tudor arches. What appears as a symmetrical plan however, is a bit of Gothic trickery. The front door is near the right end of the porch; the two main roof ridges carry back different lengths, the corner of one heavily overhanging the flat tin roof of the main stair hall; the chimneys, with their elaborately moulded brick and granite copings, are not opposite each other; and many "blind" windows with permanently closed shutters strain to give a symmetrical effect.

Before we go in let us pause to compliment Mr. Patterson and his architect and bid them adieu. After Mr. Patterson's death there in 1866,<sup>6</sup> Evesham passed by way of his daughter to Reverdy Johnson, Jr. (1826-1907). Mr. Johnson, the son of the Attorney General, Senator, and Minister to England, married Caroline Patterson (1828-1863) in 1853.<sup>7</sup> He was an attorney and in 1872 president of the Union Manufacturing Company of Maryland,<sup>8</sup> located at Ellicott City. After 1856 he lived with his father-in-

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 11, 1866.

<sup>7</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 10, 1853.

<sup>8</sup> *Diary of Richard H. Townsend*, MdHS, p. 1125.

law at 20 South Street and later at 122 Park. In 1873 he moved to 35 Mt. Vernon Place and then to the Mt. Vernon Hotel. During this period he kept Evesham in good order, but visited it only occasionally, being driven out in nice weather in a "carriage and pair." Evesham had been relatively unoccupied for some twenty-five years when Mr. Johnson sold it in 1895 to Mr. Augustus Ducas Clemens, Jr. (1845-1910), well-known realtor and "developer."<sup>9</sup>

In 1881 Mr. Clemens had married Mary Bordley (1853-1928), daughter of William Clayton Bordley, Jr., of Centreville and Waverly. They had three children and had outgrown their former home on Chestnut Hill Avenue. He actually planned to subdivide the estate but grew to love it so that some thirty more adjacent acres were acquired later from the Myers estate. This love has continued and his children, Mr. Lennox Birkhead Clemens, Mrs. G. Ray Hyde (née Henrietta Amelia Clemens) and Augustus D. Clemens, III, married and raised their children there. Mr. Lennox B. Clemens, his wife (née Olivia Fendall) and Mrs. Hyde are now living at Evesham. Augustus III remodeled the barn into a comfortable house for his brood. The only major alterations made to the house since the Clemens family took over were the addition of a dining room bay window and bathrooms.

Now let us raise the bronze knocker given to Mr. Johnson by a titled friend in England and be let in. If the writer may be permitted to slip into the first person, he will feel more at home, as perhaps you will, in his birthplace. We enter a spacious hall (twenty-eight feet in length) with paneled plaster ceiling. Bosses at three intersections of mouldings have hooks for the chandelier (see reflected ceilings on plan). Hall furnishings include several uncomfortable Gothic benches, some antlers and an oil painting of the Battle of Evesham (1265). Hall doors to the living room, library, dining room and conservatory porch are trimmed with engaged Gothic wooden columns and "wicket" lintels. Actually the "door" of this porch is a double hung window, opening up into a pocket in the wall above, making passage through possible, but always giving tall people a jar. There are four such windows in the living room.

The hall, library and dining rooms are part of the original

<sup>9</sup> *Genealogy and Biography of Leading Families of the City of Baltimore and Baltimore County, Maryland* (New York, 1897), p. 939.



EVESHAM IN 1895



ENTRANCE HALL



LIVING ROOM

On the right of the doorway to the conservatory porch is a portrait of Elizabeth Read Goodman Bryden, great-great grandmother of the author.

*Photos by Hughes Co.*





#### THE LIBRARY IN 1900 AND 1957

On the right of the fireplace in the 1900 photo (upper) is a portrait of Henrietta and Augustus Ducas Clemens, III, as children.

*Photo by Hughes Co.*



FRONT STAIRWAY

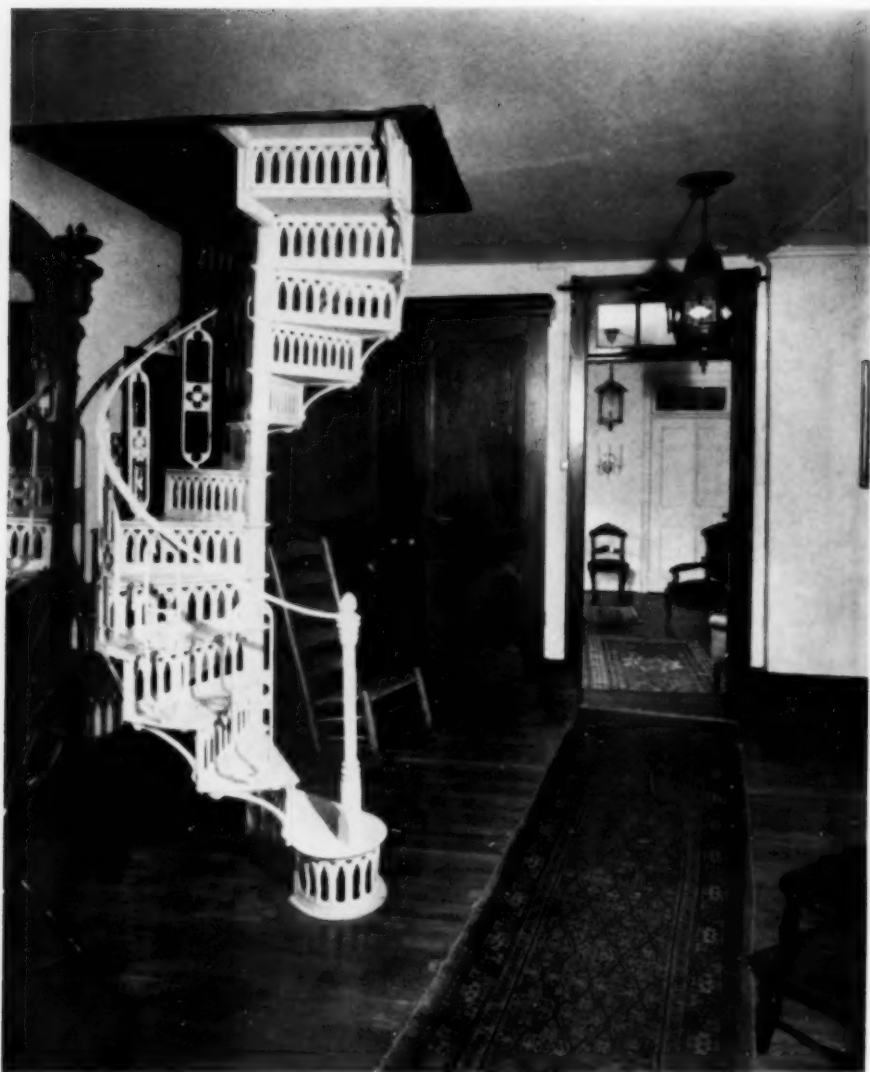
*Photo by Hughes Co.*



SOUTH BEDROOM

Mrs. Bryden Bordley Hyde is seated in the bay window.  
Silhouettes and bed are Bryden family heirlooms.

*Photo by Hughes Co.*



SECOND FLOOR HALL SHOWING CAST-IRON SPIRAL STAIR,  
ABOUT 1850

*Photo by Hughes Co.*







house prior to 1846. Evidences to support this conclusion are two windows plastered up in the bedroom over the library in the stair hall partition (formerly an exterior wall); the straight line butt joint of the old random width pine floor of the upstairs sitting room over the dining room, indicating a former stair well; a twenty-four inch wall between the hall and living room.

The living room door is decorated with linen fold paneling, painted and grained in the early years of this century to resemble oak. The living room is a stately place with plaster paneled ceiling, white marble Gothic mantle (similar to the one in the front office of the Maryland Historical Society, formerly the Enoch Pratt house) surmounted by a mirror, with frame of the same period, touching the ceiling. It has been a dignifying background for the emotions at family weddings and funerals since Patterson days. My first cousin, Mary Fendall Clemens and I, together with playmates, gave several amateur theatricals here for the benefit of our "Fresh Fruit Fund" for the Home for the Incurables. The neighbors on Evesham Avenue came up and paid, and we kids spent most of the time giggling behind the bay window interior shutters which served as the curtain. Later Mary Fendall's teen-age dances were held here, with a three-piece orchestra. Still later I have seen eight chessboards silent at once with my father, uncles and friends playing, while the crystal chandelier, from my paternal grandfather's house, cast the glittering colors of the spectrum above.

The semi-decagonal conservatory porch with Gothic engaged columns and cast iron railing similar to the front porch was the place to hang a huge flag on the Fourth of July. (That evening my grandfather would be up late chasing candle balloons that might set fire to the house barn or hay rick.) The ceiling, once plastered and ribbed (see plan) fell and was replaced by a tin ceiling, fortunately with Gothic stampings. The floor of five-quarter tongue-and-groove yellow pine is as carefully lap jointed at the segment lines as a ship's decking, and is in perfect condition to this day. The original tin porch roof has a molded cornice with splayed metal covered fascia crowned with small crenulations of wood which conceal the rain gutter.

The library is unornamented except for the white marble mantel, also in the style of the period and again with a huge neo-Gothic mirror to the ceiling. It is broken, but the seven years bad luck theoretically ran out before 1910. The modern floor of

oak covers old worn random-width edge-grain pine as in other first floor rooms. This room so far as I know has always been termed "The Library" and will probably never be called the "TV room." The more intimate scale of this room made it the meeting place for my grandfather's whist club, and my uncle's bridge foursome still plays there.

The way to a man's heart is through the dining room. This room is simple except for furniture, including four china closets, one containing the Johnson's blue Canton (discarded in moving). A late afternoon sun slants through the front porch and lights up our family sideboard that was recovered from Jones Falls after a flood. The hurricane shades on it were found in the attic. The bay window looks southeast across the lawn to a five-foot-high English boxwood hedge. This is the last vestige of a cross-shaped, box-bordered, rose garden said to have occupied the site of the later tennis court. From this window my grandmother could count the dozen or so tennis players and know that she would have about that many more for Sunday dinner.

Dinner in those days was prepared on the wood stove in the kitchen a considerable distance away from the dining room, and when warm weather came, even farther away on the coal oil stove in the summer kitchen. This domain was shared by Celia Cullings, the cook, Maria Winston, the maid, and Robert Smith, my wrestling partner, grandmother's chauffeur, and man about the place. The old stove and several large and deep kitchen cupboards still remain, although the cooking has been transferred to the pantry. An open porch passage separates the pantry from the old, cool, dank milk room with its depressed concrete floor. The back two-story porch extended across to the front stair hall until the bay windows of the dining room and sitting room above were built.

Follow me back through the dining room to the stair hall. It has a nice neo-Gothic quality. The intersection with the main hall is framed with wooden engaged columns and a four centred wooden arch between. The handrail of the stair is supported on pierced paneling and the closed string is carved with the Gothic version of the Great Monad or Yin-Yang, an ancient Chinese symbol representing the material, or feminine, and the spiritual, or masculine.

On the stair landing, in the door opening that originally led to

the second floor back porch, is a painted glass window which, with the other "stained" glass windows in the house, was bought by my grandfather when the famous Barnum's Hotel was razed. This window has the seals of Delaware and Pennsylvania at the top and contemporary sailing vessels, railroad engines, etc., in the other panels. It is a special attraction for all young visitors, but only before they have gone higher and spotted the Gothic cast iron spiral stairway which my grandmother's niece, Helen Bordley, enjoyed climbing until the day of her death at eighty-six.

The second floor originally had five bedrooms and a sitting room (over the dining room). The number has been reduced by the installation of baths. Mother's room is naturally my favorite with its southeast and southwest exposures, a cheerful bay window and a simple Gothic wooden mantle, again with mirror to ceiling. If the neo-Gothic trend freed the plan it forgot the closet. Nowhere, except in the attic, can built-in closets be found.

The attic has four bedrooms (one, oddly, was a wine closet before 1895). The two "back" bedrooms were for servants and one has iron bars on the window (from days of slavery?). There are two large dormer windows with cast iron balconies. The one on the gatehouse side (southwest) had a large brass bell under the eaves for summoning the help. An octagonal shaft with winding risers leads from the attic hall to the cupola. Alternate panels around this shaft, above the roof line, could be removed in the summer, revealing screened, louvered openings which ventilated the entire house. A trap door above leads up to the cupola from which there is a fine view of Baltimore and the Bay.

And so you see that "progress" brings mixed blessings. As we stand on the cupola looking out on the current crop of group houses, musing on high fences, thick hedges, and screens of lombardy poplars, we wonder to what useful purpose this "too big for the neighborhood" house can be put when the present occupants die off. Will it find a savior like Hampton's? Will it find a worthy group of ladies like Mt. Clare's? Or will it be ground into the dust by bulldozers to make way for new buildings, the fate of so many of its worthy neighbors?

## KENT ISLAND

### PART II: SETTLEMENT AND LAND HOLDING UNDER THE PROPRIETARY

(Continued from Vol. 52, No. 2, June, 1957, p. 119)

By ERICH ISAAC

IN 1638 Kent Island was erected into a hundred "within the county of St. Mary's" and thus incorporated into the administrative system of the proprietary colony.<sup>1</sup> Politically, the period of the 1640's and 50's was characterized by unsettled conditions on the island. Claiborne repeatedly attempted to recover Kent Island from the proprietor by petitions, and these failing, by actual reconquest, perhaps in league with other Virginians, with loyal settlers on the island, and it may be also in association with Indian allies.<sup>2</sup> All these attempts of course, encountered strong proprietary opposition. The island passed, in 1638, from Claiborne's hands to the hands of the proprietary only to be reconquered by Claiborne, to revert then again to the proprietary by 1647.<sup>3</sup> Nothing daunted, Claiborne renewed his claims in 1650. In 1652 Claiborne, who had been made Parliamentary Commissioner by Cromwell, brought up his old claim to Kent Island and to Palmer Island<sup>4</sup> and actually took possession of Kent Island. In addition, a Puritan regime was established in all Maryland. Only by 1658 was the Lord Proprietary reinstated in Maryland and Claiborne's hold on Kent Island finally broken.<sup>5</sup>

The act passed by the Maryland Assembly establishing Kent Island as a hundred, together with all the acts of the 1638-39 session, was repealed by the Lord Proprietor who nominated Giles Brent "commander" of the island in 1640. The commission to Brent does not mention what kind of administration unit Kent Island actually was to be in Lord Baltimore's province. Other

<sup>1</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), I, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 138, 145, 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

commissions, however, seem to indicate that the governor's council continued to regard Kent Island as a hundred.<sup>6</sup> The first references to Kent Island as Kent County are found in an order of the Assembly of 1642 alluding to it incidentally as a county.<sup>7</sup> In the same year a new commission issued to Giles Brent made him commander of Kent County.<sup>8</sup> Thus it is assumed by various writers that Kent Island became Kent County in 1642.<sup>9</sup>

It is likely, however, in view of the physical isolation of the island and its remoteness from St. Mary's that it was established as a county earlier than that date. The island is actually called Kent County in the Proprietary Rent Rolls of 1640, and this county is furthermore subdivided into two hundreds: The southern part called Fort Hundred; and the northern, North East Hundred.<sup>10</sup> It thus is apparent that by 1640 the island was no longer a hundred in St. Mary's County, but a full-fledged county in itself.

While the settlers who came during the time of Claiborne's control of the island soon were a minority in both hundreds, a much higher proportion of such settlers was found in Fort Hundred. The older settlers were by no means enamored of Baltimore's rule and constituted a potentially dangerous core of discontent. For this reason Baltimore created two manors in Fort Hundred and gave considerable power to the manor lords he appointed over them.

The rent rolls of Kent Island show that in spite of the prevailing insecurity and uncertainty about the ultimate political fate of the island, a considerable number of new holdings were laid out in addition to the holdings taken up by settlers during Claiborne's regime. These settlers seem to have been generally confirmed in their holdings by the Baltimores. Some further conclusions can be based on the rent rolls. Most of the old settlers of the Claiborne decade lived in the southern part of the island. Thirteen such land owners in Fort Hundred were confirmed in their holdings by the proprietary as against only two in North

<sup>6</sup> Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland*, JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sc., 3rd Ser., V-VI-VII (May, June and July, 1885), pp. 359-360.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.

<sup>8</sup> Louis D. Scisco, "Evolution of Modern Militia in Maryland," *MdHM*, XXXV (1940), 169.

<sup>9</sup> E. g., John M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia and London, 1914), p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Isle of Kent County Land Records 1640-1658*, Calvert Paper 880, Part II, MdHS. These records were compiled in or after 1658 for Philip Calvert.

East Hundred. The majority of the holdings of these early settlers were small. They ranged from 40 acres to 200 acres. The two holdings in North East Hundred confirmed by the proprietary for old settlers were 50 and 80 acres in size respectively. There were almost twice as many new holdings in Fort Hundred as old holdings; twenty-four new, fourteen old. In North East Hundred the disparity was even larger; sixteen new, two old. Almost all the new holdings in both "hundreds" were larger than the old holdings.

After the annexation to Maryland two manors were erected on Kent Island proper. One was Kent Fort Manor, laid out in 1640 for Giles Brent "for his service in reducing the island." At first it contained 1,000 acres but was soon enlarged to 2,000 acres. The original grant of 1,000 acres encompassed the lands of Claiborne's first settlement. The other was Crayford Manor, known as "His Lordship's Manor," which was probably Lord Baltimore's demesne. The lands of another manor of 1,430 acres, Thompson's Manor, were only in part on Kent Island. This manor was broken down into two parts. One part of 1,000 acres included all of Poplar Island south of Kent Island in Eastern Bay and another part, 40 acres in size, was located on the island itself.<sup>11</sup>

The new holdings on Kent Island were awarded to settlers by the proprietary administration, which determined the size of each holding on the basis of a land policy laid down by Lord Baltimore as the "Conditions of Plantations" dated in Portsmouth, England, August 8, 1636.<sup>12</sup> According to these "conditions," any "first adventurer" defined as a settler arriving in proprietary Maryland in 1633, who brought with him five men between 16 and 50 years of age, was entitled to 2,000 acres of land. Any adventurer who came with fewer persons was entitled to 100 acres for himself, and an additional 100 acre share for his wife and for each servant accompanying him. For children under sixteen years of age and for maid servants, the settler was entitled to claim 50 acres each. Similar grants were to be made to settlers arriving in 1634 and 1635 except that an adventurer must bring ten men to acquire 2,000 acres, while adventurers arriving after 1635 with five or more men were to be granted only 1,000 acres. The 100 acre headrights for people who came with fewer than

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, III, p. 47-48.



five men were not changed. Grants of 1,000 acres and above were made for manors to be named by the grantee who enjoyed the rights of a manorial baron on his estate. All grants were of course subject to yearly rents to Lord Baltimore.

In 1649 the first 1636 "Conditions of Plantation" were amended by a "Commission annexed to the Conditions of Plantation de Anno 1649."<sup>13</sup> These amendments stressed that the manors entailed the "royalties and privileges as usually belong to the manors of England," and specified that any person bringing thirty men to the province was entitled to 3,000 acres, to be leased as the manor lords saw fit, provided the lessees were English or Irish. Feudal dues were enumerated and it was stipulated that one sixth of each grant be the demesne of the manor, which was not to be alienated by the Lord of the Manor for at least seven years. A further amendment stated that any number of 100 acre shares granted to persons bringing less than thirty people might be combined into a manor.

The various new grants on Kent Island were issued in accordance with the "Conditions of Plantation," some grants in accordance with the original and some in accordance with the amended "Conditions." For example "Parsons Poynt," a freehold of 500 acres, was given to Captain Robert Vaughan, "for transporting 3 men servants before 1648 and 4 women servants before the year 1646."<sup>14</sup> Robert Vaughan was a member of the Maryland Assembly of 1642. Indian Spring, a 100 acre holding, was awarded to Henry Morgan "for transporting himself."<sup>15</sup> But Richard Blunt received only 330 acres for himself, his wife, his daughter and a man servant.<sup>16</sup> Whether quality of land compensated for a holding twenty acres short of the size promised in the "Conditions of Plantation" cannot be determined. To this day, however, the holding is known as "Blunt's Marsh."

The peopling of Kent Island did not proceed by a simple process of accretion through immigration and natural reproduction. As early as Claiborne's period some settlers left Kent Island and settled on the Eastern Shore mainland. Many tidewater and riverine locations of today's Kent County were colonized by settlers from Kent Island before Maryland was occupied by Lord

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231-234.

<sup>14</sup> *Isle of Kent County Land Records.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Baltimore's colony.<sup>17</sup> However, the data are insufficient to examine the in-and-out migration and the ensuing population structure of the island in any detail.

Some data are available which at least give an indication of the magnitude of the island's population. We know, for example, that when Robert Philpot, a brother-in-law of Claiborne, was made captain of the island's "military band" in 1638, the island had 120 men able to bear arms.<sup>18</sup> Not all of these were freemen, for there were only 73 freemen on Kent Island in 1642. These freemen empowered Giles Brent to represent them in the provincial Assembly.<sup>19</sup> Close to the end of the century, in 1696, a religious census of proprietary Maryland was made and, as the American colonies were attached to the Bishopric of London, the results were sent to the Bishop of London. Since the census was conducted on a parish basis, interesting comparisons between various parts of Maryland and Kent Island can be made. Kent Island had 146 tithables as compared to 1,544 in Talbot County, 628 in Dorchester County, 1,391 in Somerset County, 338 in Kent County, and 671 in Cecil County. It is evident that Eastern Shore settlements were expanding rapidly. Western Shore counties of course also increased in population. Ann Arundel County mustered 1,564, and Calvert County 1,044 tithables.<sup>20</sup> Population expansion was not confined to the Eastern Shore, but characterized Kent Island as well. In 1724 there were 260 taxable Anglicans on the island and in addition, a few Quakers, and Roman Catholics.<sup>21</sup> A later parish census of 1738 showed that the number of tithables had increased to 387.<sup>22</sup>

By far the majority of the island's inhabitants were Episcopalians. A Jesuit missionary lived on Kent Island in 1639,<sup>23</sup> but no further records about active Catholic communities on seventeenth century Kent Island are known. It has been ascertained, however, that some Quaker meetings were held on Kent Island.

<sup>17</sup> Peregrine Wroth, "New Yarmouth," *MdHM*, III (1908), 276.

<sup>18</sup> Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>19</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 168-9.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard C. Steiner, "Some Unpublished Manuscripts from Fulham Palace relating to Provincial Maryland," *MdHM*, XII (1917), 117-127.

<sup>21</sup> Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland, Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 137.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>23</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185.

It is not known whether all the attendants at these meetings were Friends, or how many Quaker families lived on the island.<sup>24</sup>

The planting of 2,000 tobacco plants by Claiborne's settlers in 1632 initiated a tobacco economy which goes far to explain the settlement pattern of the island as well as its population composition. While it is not known when tobacco was first introduced on the Western Shore, the cultivation of tobacco soon spread through all Maryland. In 1638 an act was passed by the Maryland Assembly which regulated payments of tobacco. By 1639 tobacco was considered of sufficient importance to justify a tax on whatever quantities were exported to countries other than England and Ireland, and only two years later legislation was passed providing for inspection of tobacco before exportation.<sup>25</sup>

What kind of tangible imprint did the increasing population, an increasing number of holdings, and an intensified cultivation of tobacco make on Kent Island's landscape? We know that by 1658 fifty-five Kent Island holdings were recorded on the proprietary rent rolls. On the 1676 map of Maryland by Augustine Herman, fifty holdings are indicated. The disparity is explicable when we read Herman's map legend which indicates that Herman showed only the more important plantations.

No nucleated or compact settlement of any type is indicated on Herman's map. The picture which emerges is of individual farms located at varying intervals along the shores of the island. Thus the island presented in its scattered settlement a pattern much more akin to the isolated farmsteads of Virginia than to the compact settlement of the northeastern seaboard.

Omitting a detailed comparison of New England settlements and Claiborne's Kent Island, we can assert as a general rule that the former had fairly compact villages, even when settlement occurred inland from the original "beachhead," whereas the latter had only one concentrated settlement, Kent Fort, and this was simply a compound and cannot be called a village. On the whole settlers lived on their scattered holdings. Neither the background of the settlers nor the trading-post purpose of their settlement encouraged compact settlement on Kent Island. Nor did conditions, adverse as they were to the growth of compact settlement

<sup>24</sup> D. L. Thornbury, "Quakers in Maryland," *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 101-115.

<sup>25</sup> L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), p. 37.

on the island, change immediately with the beginning of the proprietary period. The conditions of this later period were equally unfavorable to such a development.

Although tobacco had been introduced to Kent Island quite early in Claiborne's time, general farming continued for some time to hold first place in the settlers' agricultural activities. As the rent rolls of Kent Island indicate, the settlers were required to pay their annual dues in coin or in its corn equivalent as late as 1650. By 1658 some still paid in corn whereas others were told to pay in coin or a commodity of equivalent value to be designated "at the choice of his Lordship."<sup>26</sup> Although tobacco was not specifically named, this ruling indicates its growing importance in the intervening years. Originally the production of tobacco had been discouraged by British policy on the theory that production of a single money crop by the colonists would lead to rapid economic independence for the colonies, an undesirable development from the British point of view.<sup>27</sup> When Kent Island finally was transformed to a place of highly specialized one crop plantation agriculture, probably between 1650 and 1658, the advantages of compact settlement became even slighter. Plantations were all close to tidewater and were easily serviced by sea-going ships. This served to reinforce the self-sufficiency of the planters. A further point to remember is that land was granted under proprietary policy to individuals, rather than to communities as was the case in New England, which strengthened the old situation under Claiborne of individual and isolated holdings.

At this stage of Kent Island's history two powerful English traditions strove for supremacy in determining the island's settlement pattern. The comparatively static settlement pattern of that period in England gave little opportunity for these two traditions to come into conflict there. In England the old administrative subdivisions of county, shire and hundred for example, were in no way opposed to feudal town policies; all, rather, were part of the more or less integrated structure of Tudor and Stuart England. On Kent Island, however, the simultaneous introduction of both traditions into a recently settled area tested both. In that test, as

<sup>26</sup> *Isle of Kent County Land Records.*

<sup>27</sup> Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1608-1860*, U. of Ill., Studies in Soc. Sc., Vol. 13, No. 1 (March, 1925), p. 40.

far as Kent Island was concerned, the feudal prerogative of establishing towns failed, whereas the tradition of the hundred, more appropriate to local conditions, succeeded, and in the process strengthened the tendency toward dispersed settlement.

In the Maryland charter Cecil Calvert was explicitly given the right to "erect and incorporate towns, sea ports, harbours . . . in so many and such places . . . as to him . . . shall seem most expedient."<sup>28</sup> This privilege was repeatedly used. As early as 1639, the General Council of Maryland resolved that tobacco shipped out of the province should be taxed. In this we have the clue to most later town acts, since taxation could only be effectively imposed on the scattered planters if their shipments were recorded. Records, however, could only be kept if all shipments were routed through some control point. That taxation was the primary object in establishing proprietary towns is unequivocally stated in the first proper port act passed in 1668 "concerning the appointing of a certeyne places for the unloading and selling of all good. . . ." <sup>29</sup> The numerous town acts passed by the council and the Assembly of the province were in keeping with the lord's right to initiate laws, and the subject's duty to confirm laws thus proposed.

Among the towns ordered to be established by the proprietary in Maryland were two to be located on Kent Island. A Kent Island location is mentioned for the first time as a future town in the "Act for Advancement of Trade" passed in 1683 by the General Assembly.<sup>30</sup> The place was identified in this act as "shipping als Coxes Creeke." Shipping, as well as the other 84 locations named in this act were supposed to become towns by 1685. The act of 1683 contained the detailed instructions for the layout of the proprietary towns.

No trace has ever been found of this town. The second proposed town was "At Broad Creek, on Kent Island, where Town was laid out [*sic*] . . . Erected a Town."<sup>31</sup> For reasons to be discussed later a small settlement at Broad Creek actually developed previously to the act. This was perhaps the germinal settlement of today's unincorporated town of Stevensville.

Despite the minor development at Broad Creek, and the elabo-

<sup>28</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, I, 84.

<sup>29</sup> *Archives*, V, 31.

<sup>30</sup> *Archives*, VII, 609 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in the appendix of Francis C. Sparks' *Report of the Public Records Commission of Maryland* (n. d. [ca. 1906], n. p.), p. 276.



rate provisions included in the Act for Advancement of Trade, ranging from specific instructions concerning the administration of the town to its physical layout and economic base, the town building policy was a failure.

The economic base of the town was provided for by the provision that all exports and imports, all financial transactions and tax payments, had to take place in them. Residents of the town who had empty or only partly-filled store houses might be compelled to store tobacco belonging to other planters for a rental fee. Despite all these theoretical measures the failure to establish towns on Kent Island finally had to be conceded. Proprietary town planning ended, as far as Kent Island was concerned, quite laconically in an act of 1708 which declared that henceforth the island was a member of the Port of Oxford.<sup>32</sup>

In spite of the threat of more rigorous inspection of exports and increased taxation, public opinion towards the proprietary town planning policy was not irrevocably antagonistic. Opinions were divided when sessions of the upper and lower houses dealt with the town policy. The seat of favorable opinion appears to have been in the upper house, which followed the recommendation of the proprietor.<sup>33</sup> The lower house judged the will of the people to be the opposite, but the constant pressure from the upper house, which insisted that the building of towns would lead to the "procuring of money and advancement of trade," weakened the resistance of the lower house, and led to the "Act for the Advancement of Trade" with its subsequent amendments.

It was undoubtedly easy to circumvent the proprietary restrictions and smuggle tobacco to ships from odd landings, thus undermining the port and taxation foundation of the towns planned for Kent Island. But even if smuggling had been more difficult, there were two other economic requirements which had to be met to ensure a flow of taxable produce through the town and thus insure its continued existence. Both a sedentary cultivation of the town hinterland and an ever increasing production of a valuable crop were necessary in order to provide for the town's subsistence and continued growth. In a shifting type of agriculture such as tobacco which rapidly exhausts the soil, the main crop-producing regions necessarily move farther and farther away,

<sup>32</sup> *Archives*, XXVII, 163.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 448-449.



increasing the transport cost to the town. The proprietary under such conditions would have been forced to lower the tax rate on the export crop, simply to ensure its saleability at a price which the consumer was ready to pay. In tobacco cultivation new lands had constantly to be brought into cultivation while old tobacco lands were either put into corn or abandoned. Since the amount of agricultural land on Kent Island was definitely limited, the tobacco production of the island would soon have proved insufficient to sustain a viable port town. While the proprietary might have conceivably prolonged the life of a town on Kent Island by diverting tobacco exports from the Eastern Shore to the island and shipping it from there, this would have increased transport costs—an inevitable result of bulk-breaking.

For all this, towns might have succeeded on Kent Island had they come to fulfill a political or social function. But in this respect Kent Island's needs were already fulfilled. The island was organized into a territorial unit that discharged many of the political functions of the towns of the day—the hundred. The hundred was the original subdivision of proprietary Maryland. Hundreds in Maryland were not based on population; they were strictly a territorial division, laid out and named by proclamation of the governor. By order in Council 1638-9, the hundreds were made the election districts of Maryland and chose deputies to the Assembly.<sup>34</sup>

The most complete hundred organization in the province was the Kent Island hundred. Its chief officer was called "commander" and "the commissions" issued from time to time to the commanders of Kent gave them a range of powers scarcely inferior to those possessed by the governor of the province."<sup>35</sup> The rent rolls, and the military and political organization of the Kent Island community were defined by the hundred. Of course, the position of Kent Island was anomalous. Its distance from St. Mary's, the struggle with Claiborne, and the importance of the island as an Indian trading post magnified its importance.

The hundred provided the frame for the military and civil, religious and secular expression of Kent Island's community life. Its court house, church and militia corresponded to similar institutions in New England towns. Kent Island thus possessed the

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the discussion of Lewis W. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup> Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-177.

institutions of townhood without having a town in the sense of nucleated settlement. Paradoxically, then, the efficient transplanting of an English feudal territorial organization to Kent Island contributed to the failure of the equally feudal tradition of proprietary town building.

The manorial tradition, moreover, when transplanted to Kent Island and Maryland, reduced the likelihood of a vigorous development of town life. Although they never approached the character of the English Manor, these manors became the seat of the cultural and social life in Maryland. Owing their existence to the proprietary land policy and being integrated into the attempted feudal structure of Maryland, the manor's social activities and sometimes cultural vitality stole, in advance as it were, the social and cultural thunder of town life. Kent Island manors were not outstanding social or cultural centers, but the social activities on mainland manors nearby, and on manors located in such places as Wye Island, were accessible to Kent Island society.<sup>30</sup>

At all events the Baltimores themselves probably did not push their town policy with vigor. They did not depend for their revenue on the taxation of trade alone. Quit rents, escheat, and alienation fees were the mainstays of their taxation policy. These taxes were collected on the basis of the size of holdings, a system which was fairly efficient. The taxation of trade posed incomparably greater problems of enforcement due to the many creeks and landing places, ideally suited for illegal export of tobacco.<sup>37</sup> Despite the high revenue then, which the owners of the province derived from trade, they did not show the single-mindedness in establishing towns they might have shown had trade been their only source of taxation.

The tobacco economy of early eighteenth-century Kent Island, like that of the entire Eastern Shore, was free from such eccentric disturbances as those resulting from mineral wealth, which again might have encouraged the growth of compact settlement.<sup>38</sup> There was, moreover, little industry in the whole of Maryland. Most tools or manufactured implements were either imported or else manufactured on the farms and manors.<sup>39</sup> It was the British policy

<sup>30</sup> See Robert Wilson, "Wye Island," *Lippincott's Magazine*, XIX (April, 1877), 466-474.

<sup>37</sup> Gray, *History of Agriculture*, p. 219.

<sup>38</sup> Henry J. Warman, "Population of the Manor Counties of Maryland," *Economic Geography*, XXV (1949), 38.

<sup>39</sup> Craven, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

of the period to encourage manufacturing at home and restrict the colonies to agricultural and primary production. This policy, the self-sufficiency of the colonies, and the dependability of regular transport, prevented the province from having an extensive population of skilled craftsmen. The absence of specialized labor weakened the need for compact settlement, a need fostered where one type of industry complements the other and stages of manufacturing are separately carried out in different workshops before the product is finished.

While towns such as those visualized by the proprietary did not develop on Kent Island, one small settlement did in fact cluster at the head of Broad Creek. Although it was a hamlet rather than a "town," it had been planned as a town at least as early as 1686. In this year Kent County records mention an appropriation "to Valentine Southern for expenses on the town on Kent Island, 400 lb. of Tobacco; to Mr. Anthony Workman for expenses on the town on Kent Island 380 lb. of tobacco; to William Elliott for laboring 6 days on the towne on the said island at 1—60 lbs of tobacco." That the site of the town referred to above was probably Broad Creek can be deduced from the wording of the 1706 Act for the Advancement of Trade, which specified that a port be created at Broad Creek "Where the same town was formerly laid out."<sup>40</sup>

By 1709, despite the smallness of the settlement, we find it again referred to as "town." In a deed, conveying land from Anthony Workman to an English merchant, it is stated that the property was near "a town on Kent Island." Since Workman owned an Inn at Broad Creek we may assume that the deed refers to the latter.

Inasmuch as churches occupied a prominent place in proprietary town planning it is possible that the existence of a church near Broad Creek was an important consideration in locating the town there. The island's earliest church had been built near Broad Creek as early as 1650.<sup>41</sup>

What made the settlement viable, however, was undoubtedly its function as bulk-breaking point on the bay-crossing route between the Eastern Shore and Annapolis. At least one ferry nego-

<sup>40</sup> Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>41</sup> Helen West Ridgely, *The Old Brick Churches of Maryland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1894), p. 6, and Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

tiated the Bay between Broad Creek and Annapolis as early as 1729.<sup>42</sup> By 1746 the crossing was made by two ferries.<sup>43</sup>

Broad Creek was an important stop for the public post established by the Maryland Assembly in 1695. The mail was carried from Annapolis to Broad Creek by ferry, from which it went to Oxford, the next station on the mainland. Although this service seems to have been short-lived,<sup>44</sup> Broad Creek remained an important stopover on a traveled road and offered to travelers various facilities, such as Mr. Workman's Inn. Broad Creek derived benefits not merely from its position on a route connecting the two shores of Maryland, but also from its location on a major intercolonial traffic artery. The most frequently traveled route between Philadelphia and Virginia ran southward on the Eastern Shore to Broad Creek, where the ferry to Annapolis was taken.<sup>45</sup> In the early eighteenth century Broad Creek again became a stop on the Philadelphia-Annapolis trade route. From Philadelphia to Annapolis the mail was carried along the Western Shore, but the return trip was made via Broad Creek on the Eastern Shore.<sup>46</sup> The need for regular mail service in Maryland was stressed by Governor Sharpe who suggested in 1764 the establishment of permanent post offices, one of which was to be located at the "Ferry House on Kent Island."<sup>47</sup> By 1747 passengers crossing the bay could hire "a two wheeled chair horse and driver convenient for travelling between Chesterstown, Kent Island and Talbot Court House."<sup>48</sup>

Church, Inn, and Ferryhouse were thus the civic centers of Broad Creek. Whether the island's court house and prison were also located within the confines of the town is not known. A courthouse on Kent Island is mentioned in the rent rolls as early as 1651. The early courts seem generally to have been held at various places on the island, including the place of Richard Blunt, the owner of Blunt's Marsh. Not until 1674 was an act passed

<sup>42</sup> Advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, June 10, 1729).

<sup>43</sup> Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765*, JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sc., Ser. 33, No. 1 (1915), p. 153.

<sup>44</sup> St. George Leakin Sioussat, "Highway Legislation in Maryland and its influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey*, III, Pt. 3 (Baltimore, 1899), p. 119.

<sup>45</sup> Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>46</sup> Sioussat, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>47</sup> List of Post Offices in *MdHM*, XII (1917), 370-371.

<sup>48</sup> Advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, June 23, 1747).

by the Assembly ordering each county to erect a courthouse and prison. That Kent Island carried out these instructions is evidenced by Lord Baltimore's order according to which the courthouse and prison were conveyed to him as Lord Proprietary. No specific location, however, is mentioned in the instrument of transfer.<sup>49</sup>

In summary, toward the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, the island was characterized by individual holdings, and one small settlement, which, through its church and inn, catered to the religious and to some extent the social needs of the islanders, but was not dependent on the economy of the island for its survival. Broad Creek's viability was maintained in large measure by the intercolonial route connecting Pennsylvania with Virginia.

When a functional classification is drawn up, of the stages through which Kent Island passed, from the time of Claiborne to the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that it was first a settlement supporting the beaver and corn trade, subsequently a tobacco producing area, and finally a bulk-breaking point on the route between the northern and southern colonies. These three stages, of course, overlapped in time. Once the colonial north-south route had shifted from Kent Island, which occurred by the middle of the eighteenth century, the island was relegated to the backwaters of Maryland developments.

The fact that elements of the island's early landscape have survived to this day to the degree that they have, is a measure of the relatively unimportant role which the island played in the affairs of Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay during the last two hundred years. Had the island not lost its commercial, agricultural, and transport functions, the early landscape features would surely have been effaced to a greater extent than has been the case. Partly as the result of the loss of these functions, absentee ownership was common, and this in turn may have contributed to the island's decline, and very probably was a further reason for the preservation of early landscape features, such as forested areas.

The question might be asked whether this decline was inevitable. The reasons for the island's economic decline, and the failure of the proprietary town planning policy have already been

<sup>49</sup> Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

discussed. The island's decline might never have begun, however, had it become an urban administrative center of the proprietary colony. Such a role would have attracted a service population in later years and eventually the island might even have acquired an industrial function.

What were the circumstances that prevented the oldest settled area from becoming central to the colony? While it is impossible to offer a definitive answer to this question we can suggest certain factors which may have been operative. The very fact that Kent Island was the oldest settled area may have been a handicap in respect to the island's acting as an administrative center. An earlier and hostile population faced the new regime; surely it was wiser to select an area where no potential conflict of this type existed. Furthermore this was an age of intercolonial boundary rivalries. Virginia and Maryland shared in these disputes and St. Mary's had the advantage of being close to the Virginia border.

Even had a successful beginning been made towards dense urban settlement under proprietary auspices in the eighteenth century Kent Island's location would again have constituted a severe drawback. The island's insularity, advantageous from the point of view of commercial shipping in a period of vessels of small draught, was a handicap in times of war when enemy raiders sailed the bay. The same handicap pertained in days of official peace, which were violated by privateers or pirates. Some local names on Kent Island, such as Bloody Point or Scaffold Creek were probably derived from happenings of that period.

A further "if" of Kent Island's history allows us to presume that the Chesapeake Bay, instead of being divided between Maryland and Virginia, had been consolidated into one colony. Under such a regime, defense would have been coordinated and Kent Island might have been secure. But it still would probably not have been a political center, for there were other even earlier established centers in Virginia.

Neither the economic nor political conditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were favorable to the establishment of Kent Island's ascendancy in the Chesapeake Bay region.



## PART III: KENT FORT MANOR

The following detailed history of the ownership of one of the original properties on Kent Island, Kent Fort Manor, is given because it explains, at least partially, why the field layout of the early settlers and the forest boundaries in the southern part of the island have to a large extent survived up to the present day. The lack of continued ownership, absenteeism, frequent lawsuits and in the last century the poverty of the owners were all important factors in preventing any large scale improvements or modifications.

The people of Kent Island still speak of Kent Fort Manor, but the term refers specifically to one farm about 170 acres in size in the southern part of the island. The eighteenth-century feudal connotations of the name are all but forgotten. As late as the latter half of the last century, however, the term Kent Fort Manor was regarded as extending from Kent Point in the south to the head of Tanner's Creek in the north and bounded on the east by Eastern Bay, and by the Chesapeake Bay on the west. In other words, the name Kent Fort Manor was applied to its original expanse long after it had ceased to be one property, but had been broken up into a number of holdings.

The first extant document referring to the land grant of Kent Fort Manor, is an order dated January 1, 1639, instructing Robert Clark, Deputy Surveyor to lay out for "Giles Brent, gent. Treasurer and one of the councellours of the Province" one thousand acres of land "lying nearest together about Kent Fort and one thousand more where he shall desire it."<sup>80</sup> By September, 1640, the manor was laid out,<sup>81</sup> and a grant was drawn up and issued to Giles Brent. The entry of the survey in the provincial records states that the boundaries of the manor laid out for Brent "contains in the whole One thousand Acres or thereabouts." The boundary, however, is described in the same entry as the Chesapeake Bay on the east, west and south, and in the north as a line "drawn through the Woods Straight East beginning at the Northernmost Branch of the Creek called Northwest Creek and ending in a Swamp on the east side of the said Neck in Chesapeake

<sup>80</sup> Liber A. B. and H., p. 70. (Hall of Records, Annapolis).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

Bay."<sup>52</sup> The description delimits two thousand acres, and it seems probable that the surveyor accurately followed his instructions and laid out two thousand acres in a contiguous area, presumably according to Brent's wish, while he mistakenly reported only one thousand acres to be included within that boundary.

The land was called Kent Fort Manor and was held by Brent for the rent of "two barrells of good Corn" to be paid "at the Feast of our Lord's nativity." Brent was entitled to sell any part of his land with the exception of a 300 acre demesne. In addition he was granted the right to hold court "in the nature of a Court Barron" and twice a year, in the month after Michaelmas (September 29) and the month after Easter, he was allowed to have a court leet or view of Frankpledge.<sup>53</sup> Brent was thus launched with jurisdictional rights over a two thousand acre grant. As court baron he was entitled to exercise manorial rights and the right to a court leet conferred upon him the prerogatives of a petty criminal court for the punishment of small offenses. The view of Frankpledge extended these rights insofar as they empowered him to hold any of the tithable inhabitants of his manor responsible for the good conduct or the damage done by any one of the other inhabitants of the manor.

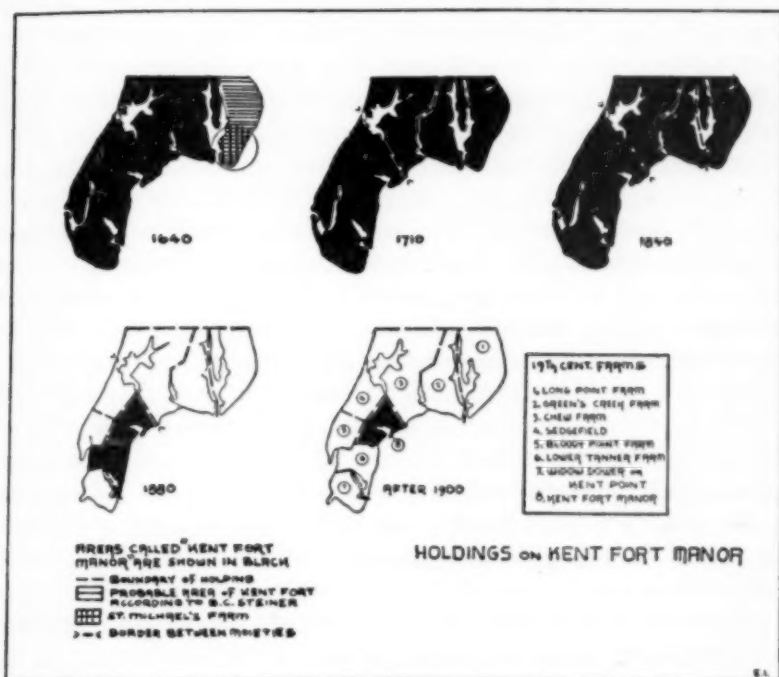
It is doubtful whether Giles Brent ever managed to impose his manorial rights upon the inhabitants of the only recently reduced partisans of Claiborne. Furthermore, after its inclusion into proprietary Maryland the entire island changed hands several times during the seventeenth century. It was intermittently occupied by Claiborne and by other forces (possibly in alliance with him) hostile to the Lords Baltimore. The manor was laid out, as we have noted, but a manorial regime was probably never efficiently enforced. This was in part due to Brent's being only partially preoccupied with his manor. Brent was a member of the Maryland Council and treasurer of the colony. Moreover, at the very time that he was awarded Kent Fort Manor, he was captain of St. Mary's militia or "trained band." Brent's first appearance on the island was apparently in early 1640. He came with a commission dated February 3, 1640, which made him commander of Kent Island. Brent was soon relieved of that commission, and spent his time partly on the island and partly at St. Mary's. He

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.

spent 1643-44 entirely on the Western Shore as acting governor during Leonard Calvert's trip to England.<sup>54</sup> More important, however, in explaining the ineffectiveness of the manorial system on Kent Fort Manor than the factor of Brent's absentee ownership is the sporadic control of the island exercised by Claiborne.

Subsequent owners of Kent Fort Manor followed Brent's example of dwelling to a large extent outside the island. In 1642 the



manor was given by Giles Brent to his sister, Margaret Brent, in payment of seventy-three pounds that he owed her.<sup>55</sup> Margaret Brent like her brother was occupied with affairs on the Western shore. Indeed the first entry of a patent for town lands on the rent rolls of St. Mary's is for "Sisters' Freehold" to be owned by Margaret Brent and her sister Mary.<sup>56</sup> Margaret died far from Kent Island in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on October 20,

<sup>54</sup> Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>55</sup> Hester Dorsey Richardson, "Side Lights of Maryland History," *Literary Digest*, April 6, 1929.

<sup>56</sup> "Brent Family," *Baltimore Sun*, March 27, 1904.

1663, leaving her property to her brother Giles and various nephews and nieces.<sup>57</sup> There are almost no Maryland records for the rest of the century concerning the history of Kent Fort Manor, and no clues as to whether the owners of the Brent family lived on the manor. We do know, however, that Giles Brent's grandson, William, who was born in 1677, died in 1709 in England even farther from Kent Island than his great-aunt Margaret. William's son was born in England posthumously on March 5, 1710, and died at Aquia, on the Western Shore, on August 17, 1742.<sup>58</sup>

We do not know precisely the number of years the Brents held Kent Fort Manor. The first extant record of other owners is in the beginning of the eighteenth century when the manor was owned by a Philip Lynes (or Lines)<sup>59</sup> who lived in Charles County.<sup>60</sup> Absentee ownership clearly did not cease with the end of the Brent tenure. In 1709 the manor was first broken up into two 1,000 acre moieties by the heirs of Philip Lynes, who sold one half.<sup>61</sup> This perhaps indicates that the manor had always been regarded as consisting of two parts equal in area, although perhaps not equal in legal standing. One moiety is that referred to in the grant to Giles Brent as the 1,000 acres of land "lying nearest together about Kent Fort" and the other moiety is what was termed "one thousand more." Although the latter was known under the same name as the first, it had subordinate standing. Kent Fort Manor was probably located on St. Michael's farm in the northern part of the 2,000 acre holding.<sup>62</sup> Thus it was the southern moiety which had subordinate standing in relation to the northern, and when selling a part of the property came in question, the owner decided to give up that half which did not carry the full weight of traditional prestige enjoyed by the northern moiety.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the manor's history was marked by mysterious arrangements and exchanges. For one thing, more land was exchanged than was comprised in Kent

<sup>57</sup> Richardson, *op. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> Chester Horton Brent, *Descendants of Col. Giles Brent* (Rutland, Vermont, 1946), p. 86.

<sup>59</sup> Queen Anne's County Rent Rolls, 147. Calvert Papers 881, *Md.HS.*

<sup>60</sup> Liber P. L. 3, January 26, 1709. (H. of R.)

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *MdHM*, LII (1957), 102-3. See also "Traces of Claiborne's Settlement, Kent Island," *JHU Circulars*, XXIII (1903-1904), 1.

Fort Manor. Charles Carroll, the new owner of the southern moiety, sold his half to William Bladen<sup>63</sup> who had, jointly with Mary Conlee, already inherited the other half of the manor from Philip Lynes.<sup>64</sup> On April 14, 1710, Bladen purchased from Foster Turbutt one quarter of Kent Fort Manor.<sup>65</sup> With this purchase of quarter of the property, added to the moiety bought from Carroll and the quarter he had inherited directly from Lynes, Bladen should have acquired control of the entire manor. We find, however, that on April 29, 1713, William Bladen acquired from Philemon Hemsley and his wife Mary (née Conlee) their quarter of Kent Fort Manor.<sup>66</sup> Evidently there were other transactions of which we have no record. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century then, Kent Fort Manor was fragmented and the holdings changed hands frequently. Moreover, the man who reassembled it at the end of that period, William Bladen, continued the tradition of absentee ownership. Bladen was a resident of Annapolis<sup>67</sup> where he was clerk of the provincial council.<sup>68</sup>

If the records lack clarity in the 1700-1720 period, they are even foggier in the 1720's. The manor went into the hands of one absentee owner after another. William Bladen's son Thomas Bladen, who became the seventh proprietary governor of Maryland, sold Kent Fort Manor in London.<sup>69</sup> However, only six months after the record of the first sale, we find another entry in the register of deeds recording the sale of Kent Fort Manor by Thomas Bladen to a different purchaser.<sup>70</sup> We do not know the circumstances leading to the second sale. It seems clear, however, that William Stavelly, one of the two London merchants who first purchased the manor from Bladen, did actually own the manor, for in a deed dated November 20, 1731, he conveyed its 2,000 acres to Benjamin Tasker.<sup>71</sup> Benjamin Tasker was a brother-in-law of Thomas Bladen, acting governor from 1752-1753 and Commissary-General until 1759.<sup>72</sup> Thus far the story of Kent

<sup>63</sup> Liber P. L. 3, February 1, 1710 (H. of R.).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, January 26, 1709.

<sup>65</sup> Liber T. P. 4, April 14, 1710, p. 12 (H. of R.).

<sup>66</sup> Liber T. P. 4, *ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, April 14, 1710, p. 12.

<sup>68</sup> "The Maryland Delegates to the Albany Confederacy," *Dixie*, III (1889), 111.

<sup>69</sup> Liber P. L. 6, February 1, 1724, p. 107 (H. of R.).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>71</sup> Liber P. L. 8, November 20, 1731, p. 63 (H. of R.).

<sup>72</sup> *Dixie*, III, 279, 283.

Fort Manor, as documented by its deeds, is a simple story of land transfers. There are some gaps in the record which leave us with unanswered questions, but on the whole the sequence of land transfers can be traced.

Unfortunately the history of the manor, as narrated above, is obscured by another sequence of deeds. According to these records, at the same time the manor was supposedly owned by William Stavely, it was in reality possessed by Daniel Moye after which it went to his son Richard Moye and after the latter, to William Maria Farthing of St. Mary's County. In 1727 Farthing lost Kent Fort Manor to Nicholas Lowe, one of Farthing's creditors.<sup>73</sup> Somehow, by the sixth decade of the eighteenth century, Kent Fort Manor was returned to the ownership of the Brent family. The Brents, however, did not remain in uninterrupted possession of the manor during the rest of the century. In the records we find that William Brent mortgaged the southern moiety of the manor to Charles Carroll, Sr., on May 21, 1768. William Brent followed in the footsteps of his seventeenth-century ancestor in living away from the island; this William Brent lived in Stafford County, Virginia.<sup>74</sup> Upon his death in 1782 his heirs freed the land mortgaged to Carroll by repaying the mortgage fund and interest.<sup>75</sup> Thereafter they sold the entire manor "containing by Estimation two thousand one hundred and fifty acres" to Samuel Chew of Herring Bay, Ann Arundel County,<sup>76</sup> on May 28, 1785. Six months later, on November 24, 1785, the latter drew up a will in which he left the manor to his wife Elizabeth and specified that after her death the manor should pass to his son Samuel Lloyd Chew.<sup>77</sup>

Samuel Chew died in 1786 and in 1787 his widow and son divided the 2,000 acres of the manor between them. The southern half was kept by Elizabeth Chew and the northern by her son Samuel. The Chews suffered vicissitudes of fortune thereafter. In 1789 Samuel Lloyd Chew mortgaged his half to Charles Carroll but seems to have paid off the mortgage later.<sup>78</sup> Elizabeth

<sup>73</sup> Liber P. L. 6, p. 300.

<sup>74</sup> Liber D. D. 4, May 21, 1768, p. 403 (H. of R.).

<sup>75</sup> Liber C. D. 1, June 1785, pp. 351-352 (H. of R.).

<sup>76</sup> Liber T. B. H. 1, May 28, 1785, p. 379 (H. of R.).

<sup>77</sup> Liber S. C. 7, November 24, 1785, folio 26 (H. of R.).

<sup>78</sup> Bernard C. Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," *MdHM*, VI (1911), 254-255.



Chew was also forced to mortgage her southern moiety, but paid off the mortgage in 1797.<sup>79</sup>

The process of fragmentation of Kent Fort Manor thus begun in the 1780's did not end with the division into two equal parts. Elizabeth Chew sold her moiety to T. M. Foreman who transferred it to Philip Barton Key<sup>80</sup> who sold it to Arthur Bryan on March 17, 1798.<sup>81</sup> The northern half of the manor contained three farms. Of these the easternmost was called Long Point Farm, and the central one was alternately known as Indian Point or Green's Creek Farm. Samuel Lloyd Chew held his land until 1838 when he sold Long Point Farm. Two years later he sold Indian Point as well. By the middle of the nineteenth century the remaining third of the northern moiety of the manor also passed out of the hands of his heirs.

This threeway splitting of the northern moiety and alienation to three different owners marks the end of the history of the northern half of the manor under the name of Kent Fort Manor. Although this was the 1,000 acres specifically mentioned in the original grant, after 1847 the term Kent Fort Manor was generally applied to the southern moiety only.<sup>82</sup>

In 1802 the Chancery Court allotted the southern half of Kent Fort Manor to Arthur Bryan's sister, Suzanna Tait. Suzanna left her land to her son Robert Tait who sold it to his son-in-law Robert Cray in 1825. Richard Cray's descendents held the southern part of Kent Fort Manor for the major part of the century.<sup>83</sup>

From the early 1860's to the first decades of the present century the story of the southern part of Kent Fort Manor is one of increasing impoverishment, accelerated by a number of law suits and family feuds.<sup>84</sup> The division of the southern half of Kent Fort Manor into five different farms each owned by a different person began after 1861.<sup>85</sup> The widow of one of the Crays, again named Richard, was forced to sell two farms in order to pay off the debts left behind by her deceased husband. Thus Sedgfield, or Western Bay Farm, and the Bloody Point Farm were sold. As

<sup>79</sup> Liber S. T. W. 4, April 27, 1797, p. 228 (H. of R.).

<sup>80</sup> Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," pp. 254-255.

<sup>81</sup> Liber S. T. W. 4, March 17, 1798, p. 410.

<sup>82</sup> Liber J. T. 5, p. 298 (H. of R.).

<sup>83</sup> Steiner, "Kent Fort Manor," pp. 254-255.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Liber J. T. 5, p. 298.

"Widow's dower" she retained 175 acres<sup>86</sup> which was to become Kent Point Farm, or, as it was locally called, Widow's Dower. In 1875 one of her sons sued her on the grounds that she had claimed too large a share for widow's dower.

One of her sons, John Cray, eventually received the farm now known as Tanner Farm<sup>87</sup> and, jointly with his brother Thomas R. Cray, the farm located to the north of the Tanner farm and known at the present day as Kent Fort Manor.<sup>88</sup> In 1881 we find that both the Tanner and Kent Fort Manor Farms were held jointly by John Cray and James Frank Cray.<sup>89</sup> In 1885, by a deed of partition, the joint holding was divided between James F. Cray and John Cray, the former receiving the northern part, or Kent Fort Manor, and the latter the Tanner Farm.<sup>90</sup> Both James F. Cray and his brother John are reputed to have been spendthrifts and to have made great debts. John lost his farm for his debts in 1890<sup>91</sup> and James lost his for the same reason in 1919.<sup>92</sup> Their father, Richard Cray, was the last person who possessed one entire moiety of the original Kent Fort Manor for any length of time. In the present century the various farms composing the southern moiety have changed hands numerous times. In general the land has been purchased and sold for speculative reasons.

<sup>86</sup> "Suit of James F. Cray vs. Martha Goodhand," etc., Liber J. W. 5, April 29, 1875, Judgment Record in extenso, p. 622.

<sup>87</sup> Liber J. N. W. 12, April 14, 1881, p. 193 ff. (H. of R.).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Liber S. W. 12, p. 191 (H. of R.).

<sup>90</sup> Liber S. C. D. 5, p. 348, and January 1, 1885, p. 484 (H. of R.).

<sup>91</sup> Liber W. D. 5, December 3, 1899, p. 199 (H. of R.).

<sup>92</sup> Liber S. F. R. 1, January 4, 1919, p. 465 (H. of R.).

## LAFAYETTE'S LETTERS TO ELIZA RIDGELY OF HAMPTON

Edited by JAMES W. FOSTER

THE observance this year of the bicentennial of the birth of Lafayette affords occasion for publication of a group of his letters to a Baltimore belle of 1824-1825, letters not themselves of special importance, which yet reveal the gallantry and chivalric feelings of a great heart. The few letters that have survived give but a glimpse of a friendship, a charming episode in Gallic vein, between a man of sixty-six and a girl of twenty-one. Except for three now in the Society's collections, all of them are owned by descendants of the lady.

The letters remind us of the warm feelings, ardent on both sides, that linked Lafayette with the people of Maryland. These ties sprang from the heroic measures taken in Baltimore in April, 1781, as Lafayette passed through with his troops on the way to Virginia. He had no stomach for the festivities given in his honor and at a ball he made known to some of the ladies the distress among his men, who were in desperate need of clothing and food. Immediately the women of Baltimore rallied to the crisis. They gathered materials, cut out, and sewed a vast amount of clothing. It was an act that the Marquis never forgot. Furthermore, the merchants lent him at this time the sum of £1,550 to purchase supplies for which Lafayette gave his personal security. After Yorktown he was again in Baltimore and was lavishly entertained. "My campaign began with a personal obligation to the inhabitants of Baltimore," he wrote, "at the end of it I find myself bound to them by a new tie of everlasting gratitude." Especially touching to Lafayette was the action of the Maryland legislature in 1784 when it bestowed citizenship upon him and his male descendants forever.

After the Revolution the tie was maintained with Maryland through numerous friendships. DuBois Martin, who had fur-

nished the vessel on which Lafayette in 1776 had secretly left France for the United States, was now a resident of Baltimore. So, too, was Joseph Townsend, a Pennsylvania Quaker who had been among the first to aid the Marquis when wounded at Brandywine. There were many Revolutionary officers with whom he had served, among them Colonel John Eager Howard, General Smith, and General Robert Goodloe Harper.

Another Marylander, Colonel George E. Mitchell of Cecil County, was largely instrumental in forging a new link. A member of the House of Representatives in 1824, he it was who offered the resolution to invite Lafayette to revisit this country as the guest of the nation, and later introduced him when he was received by Congress.

Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the lady to whom these charming letters were written, was the daughter of Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely, a cousin of the Ridgelys of Hampton, a prominent merchant and a citizen of high repute. Eliza was born in 1803 and while still a young girl was hailed for her great beauty, intelligence and charm. Her full-length portrait at age sixteen, painted by Sully, is evidence of her comeliness and grace. Long known as "The Lady with the Harp," it was removed a few years ago from Hampton, where it had hung in the great hall for more than a century, to the National Gallery of Art.

How and when Miss Ridgely first met Lafayette is not known. Since many affairs in his honor were given in Baltimore between October 7 and December 29, 1824, when the first of these letters was written, there may have been many encounters between the two. Newspapers reported the dinner given by the lady's father to Lafayette's party when he returned from his triumphal tour of the country in late July of 1825, the last of many events in his honor in Annapolis and Baltimore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to owning three of these letters, the Society has others in the handwriting of Lafayette, as well as numerous objects and printed items associated with him. Most interesting of the letters is one written by Lafayette in 1831 to General Sam Smith, in which the Marquis referred to "the particular devotion that binds me to the beloved city of Baltimore." This was acquired in 1946 as a gift from the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, then Mayor of Baltimore.

The Society is currently showing an important exhibition of Lafayette memorabilia. For assistance in preparing these letters for publication, I am indebted to the individual owners named in each case and particularly to Mrs. Edith Rossiter Bevan who has kindly supplied most of the data regarding persons and events mentioned in the letters.

Spelling and the quixotic capitalization of the General have been altered in

## I

I cannot leave the city before I have expressed to Miss Ridgely my disappointment and regret to have missed every opportunity to pay my respects to her and particularly last evening['s] Ball upon which I had confidently depended. I shall take care to be more fortunate on my next visit to Baltimore<sup>2</sup> and in the mean while I have the honor to offer to her the affectionate respects of an old friend

Lafayette<sup>3</sup>

Baltimore December 29th [1824]

Miss Ridgely

Baltimore

My two companions beg to be respectfully remembered.<sup>4</sup>

## II

On Board the Brandywine<sup>5</sup> September 9<sup>h</sup> 1825

The disappointment I have felt, in being deprived of the gratification to see you once more, dear Miss Ridgely, could not receive a more soothing consolation than from the kind letter with which you have been pleased to bless me. You have inspired me, as early as the first days of our acquaintance, my old age permits me to say so, with sentiments of the highest admiration, affectionate friendship, and I will also allow myself to add of tender gratitude. I was anxious to obtain the permission you give me to call you my dear young friend. Let me hear from you, and of

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these letters to conform to modern usage. Grammar and punctuation remain as in the original. A few bracketed entries, for the sake of clarity, have been supplied by the editor. All letters are in English except No. 9.

Useful references to Lafayette during the period here covered occur in Brand Whitlock, *LaFayette* (New York, 1929), vol. II; J. B. Nolan, *Lafayette Day by Day* (Baltimore, 1934); A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825* (Philadelphia, 1829); Harry Worcester Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, N. Y., 1936), for Skinner; John Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874); *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1824, 1825; and contemporary newspapers of Maryland.

<sup>2</sup> Lafayette's first stay in Baltimore after his arrival in New York was October 7-12. Other visits in 1824 were November 23-29 and December 26-28. The ball was given at the rooms of the Baltimore Assembly, northeast corner of Fayette and Holliday Streets. In 1825 Lafayette was in Baltimore January 19-21 and 28-29, February 3-4 and July 30-August 1.

<sup>3</sup> Letter presented in 1957 to the Society by Mr. Harold E. Weber, of London, England, through Mrs. R. H. Weingart, of New York City, and Mrs. John A. B. Fisher, of Baltimore. Mr. Weber happened to find it among family papers and sought a suitable home for it. It arrived during the preparation of the other letters for publication.

<sup>4</sup> The companions were a son, George Washington Lafayette and a secretary, August Levasseur. A valet, Bastien, also traveled with the Marquis.

<sup>5</sup> The new frigate put at Lafayette's service for his return to France by the United States. The Government also voted him \$200,000 as a present besides 24,000 acres of land in Florida.

every thing that can interest you. I would be very unhappy to give up the hope that we will meet again in America. But I cherish a nearer expectation that of your voyage to France. The answer of your excellent father, the evident advantages relative to your health, and I am both proud and happy to add your own kind wish to delight your old friend and his family with your presence at La Grange<sup>6</sup> encourage me to anticipate that unexpressible [*sic*] satisfaction. Surrounded as I have been yesterday, I could not find a moment to write, and while after having taken an affecting leave I was going to bid adieu to my young friend, an invitation from her Baltimorian fellow citizens brought me to the steamboat.<sup>7</sup> These lines will come to you by Norfolk and Washington. We are under sail, and tomorrow my eyes will no more behold this beloved shore. Present my affectionate good wishes to your, and all other friends, particularly to your father who, I hope, will continue to be a sharer in the mutual friendly regard that bind [*sic*] me to his dear daughter. Farewell, and think often of your tenderly devoted old friend

Lafayette<sup>8</sup>

My companions beg to be remembered most respectfully and affectionately to you.

Miss Ridgely

Baltimore Maryland

### III

La Grange, October 29th 1826

The greatest pleasure I could receive, next to a letter from you, my amiable young friend, was to see a person who had seen you, conversed with you, and brought me from you expressions of kind remembrance. That obligation I have to lieutenant Mahan<sup>9</sup> and I take the opportunity of Captain Allyn's departure<sup>10</sup> to offer the most affectionate acknowledgements. With several Baltimorians I have also the gratification to talk of dear Miss Ridgely, and lately with Miss Gallatin<sup>11</sup> and her parents

<sup>6</sup> The chateau that was Lafayette's country home, 30 miles southeast of Paris.

<sup>7</sup> Baltimore admirers of the Marquis chartered the steamer *Constitution* to take them down the Bay to the mouth of the Potomac where they met the *Brandywine* and were guests at a collation aboard it with Lafayette present. Among these visitors was Eliza's father. The latter no doubt was the bearer of her letter which Lafayette is acknowledging.

<sup>8</sup> Original in Society's collection. Gift of Mr. John Campbell White, 1954.

<sup>9</sup> Dennis Hart Mahan (1802-1871), lieutenant of engineers, then abroad to study means of improving courses of instruction at West Point. He became the father of Admiral A. T. Mahan.

<sup>10</sup> Evidently Captain Francis Allyn, who was entrusted with delivery of the letter (see address at end). He was master and part owner of the *Cadmus*, the merchant vessel on which the Marquis took passage to New York in 1824. For this voyage Lafayette declined the offer of an American frigate.

<sup>11</sup> Daughter of Albert Gallatin, American minister to France 1816-1823, to England 1826-1827. Her mother was Hannah Nicholson, daughter of Commodore James Nicholson of Maryland.



who paid a short visit to Paris where I went to meet them. But I receive no satisfactory encouragement for my cherished hopes to see you on this side of the Atlantic, and still worse than this, it is said that you express a personal reluctance for a sea voyage. Let me flatter myself it is not the case, and that as soon as your excellent father, to whom I beg you to present my affectionate regards, will think it in his power to cross the ocean, no difficulty will be started on your part. I confess I may be thought selfish and prejudiced, as one who thinks and speaks in his own cause, but I really believe your health would be much benefited by a visit to Europe. My family join in the fond request as they have been partakers in the expectation. Next spring would be the most proper season. We have had the pleasure to receive at La Grange several American visits and now Mrs. Shaw, Gen. Greene's daughter, Mrs. Greene,<sup>12</sup> her niece, with a young sister, and Mrs. Allyn, formerly Miss Colden of N. Y.<sup>13</sup> have been pleased to make La Grange their home until the month of January when we all go to town for the remainder of the winter season. Cannot we hope, my three daughters and myself, that the same favor may be by you and Mr. Ridgely conferred upon us.

Altho I much repine at the distance that separates me from my friends in the U. S. I find means to keep myself informed not only of political matters, internal improvements, party quarrels and electioneering mutations, but also of every social concerns [*sic*] in the several parts of the Union. You do me the justice to think the Baltimore [newspaper] articles are not neglected. There I find that Miss Magruder has changed her name, but nothing says whether the bride is our young friend.<sup>14</sup> In both cases I beg you to present my respects to her.

I am quietly on my farm, much interested with agricultural pursuits, surrounded by my numerous and affectionate family, and receiving friendly visits. Our country enjoyments are at this moment much disturbed by the severe illness of one of my sons in law, Lewis Lasteyrie, who is, we hope, just out of danger but very weak still in body and mind.

My son, [and] M. Levasseur lately married to a young German lady, desire their best respects to you in which my daughters and granddaughters beg leave to join. Mr. Mahan is gone to Paris to consult physicians on the fitness of a journey to the south. His health requires close attention but is not worse. I have under my care a young Baltimorian, Frederick Skinner, who is a most amiable boy.<sup>15</sup> Adieu, dear Miss Ridgely. With

<sup>12</sup> Wife of a nephew of General Nathanael Green. See D. S. Wilson's narrative of a visit to Lafayette in 1826, printed in this *Magazine*, II (1907), 310-315.

<sup>13</sup> Wife of Captain Allyn. Both Allyns were guests at La Grange. Edward Everett Dale, ed., *Lafayette Letters* [to Captain Allyn] (Oklahoma City, 1925).

<sup>14</sup> Probably a daughter of Richard B. Magruder (1787-1844), member of the Baltimore bar, who had entertained Lafayette in 1824.

<sup>15</sup> Son of Col. John Stuart Skinner, companion of Francis Scott Key before and during the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Founder of the *American Farmer* and the *American Turf Register*, the elder Skinner in 1824 served as guide during part of Lafayette's visit to Maryland. Frederick Skinner as a youth spent four years in France where he was educated under Lafayette's guidance. He was often at La Grange.

perfect confidence I presume to depend on your precious continued kindness to

Your forever affectionate old friend

Lafayette <sup>16</sup>

Miss Ridgely

Baltimore

State of Maryland

Care of Captain Allyn

[Endorsement] forwarded by yr. vy. huml. st. Francis Allyn

#### IV

La Grange July 28 1827

It is a very long while since I had the pleasure to hear from you, my dear friend, yet my ambition has gone farther than looking for letters, however gratifying, and I may add, necessary, they are to me. I cannot get out of my head, so deep it is fixed in my heart, that you will make a voyage on this side of the Atlantic. It was the last word of your good father when we parted on board the Brandywine. Your health seems to require it. His circumstances, and so far as I know, your own, my amiable friend, present no actual obstacle to that excursion, and if to general inducements you condescend to add those of personal friendship I can assure you and you will, I hope, easily believe that in no family, on either hemisphere, your presence could be more respectfully and affectionately welcomed, and in one instance create more delight than on the colony of La Grange. Indeed on the approach of every regular packet I cannot help indulging a thought that perhaps the father & daughter are passengers on board. In the meanwhile I have now and then the pleasure to talk of my Baltimorian friends with some of your travelling fellow citizens, or other American visitors.

We are, my children, grandchildren, and myself in our rural retirement where three great grand little daughters have been lately brought to me from Flanders by their young mother to assist at the marriage of her sister, Louisa Maubourg, with Hector de Perron, a Pie[d]montese by birth but a late French officer naturalized a Frenchman, one of the leaders of the attempted revolution in Pie[d]mont, for which he is still under capital condemnation. Another wedding I contemplate before the end of the year, a third grand daughter, Natalie Lafayette, being engaged to an accomplished young man, nephew to Casimir Perier, the eloquent and patriot member of the Chambre des Deputés. I have been lately engaged also, not so much to that house, between which and me there is neither sympathy or reciprocity of any sort, but to a neighbouring electoral district who thought fit to put forth my name as a manifestation of principles, and to give me a personal mark of affection, so that on those two accounts I was induced to accept the charge.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Original owned by Mr. John Campbell White.

<sup>17</sup> He was re-elected in 1827 to the Chamber of Deputies for the Department of Meaux.

In the numerous invoices of newspapers which every packet brings to me, I am far from confining my attention to political matters. Private concerns, domestic occurrences, changes of names in my young friends are anxiously searched in the American columns, so that, surrounded as I am with American gifts, remembrances, relics, and deeply, tenderly impressed with American feeling, I exist as much on your side of the water as my material situation can permit.

My son is now with his second daughter in the mountains of Auvergne, my native place. The rest of my family beg to be respectfully presented to you. Great use is made every evening of the beautiful music book for which I request you will renew our acknowledgements to the young amiable donators. [*sic*]. Be pleased to offer my affectionate compliments to Mr. Ridgely, to our young friends, and think some times of the old friend who is forever devoted to you by every sentiment of admiration, affection and respect.

Lafayette <sup>18</sup>

Miss Ridgely,  
Baltimore, Maryland

[Endorsement] Rcd. & forwarded by  
Your obt. Svt

Wm. Whitlock Jr.<sup>19</sup> at New York 10th Sept. 1827

V

Paris March 30th 1828

My dear young friend

I hope you do too much justice to my tender affection not to have anticipated the emotions excited in my breast by the information that Miss Ridgely had changed if not her name, at least her situation and that the happy man has been found who was to fix her choice. I will not on the occasion pour out assurances which you know to be superfluous, but I am sure you will affectionately receive my sympathies, blessings and best wishes.<sup>20</sup>

The beginning of this year has proved [?] to me very unfortunate. Two of my grand daughters Louisa Maubourg and Natalie Lafayette had been within the last ten months most happily married. The former has been snatched from us in the bloom of her youth and her felicity. I have also lost an old intimate friend and relation. Those heavy blows fell upon me while confined by a serious indisposition of which, after more than two months I am now convalescent. The last accounts from the U. S. have announced the loss of two valuable friends, General Brown and Governor Clinton.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Original owned by Mr. White.

<sup>19</sup> Lafayette's American business agent.

<sup>20</sup> Eliza Ridgely (1803-1867), was married to her widower cousin, John Ridgely of Hampton, son of Governor Charles Ridgely, on January 8, 1828.

<sup>21</sup> General Jacob Brown (1775-1828) of Pennsylvania, commander-in-chief of the Army. Governor DeWitt Clinton, of course, was the chief executive of New York.

Be pleased, dear friend, to present my best regards to MM. Ridgely husband and father. Will not the former think of revisiting Europe? Will you not accompany him? How happy the American colony of La Grange would be to receive you both I know you do not question. Remember me to our friends, and believe me for the remainder of my advanced life

Your affectionate friend

Lafayette <sup>22</sup>

My son and M. Levasseur beg their best respects to be presented to you  
Mrs. Ridgely,  
Baltimore, State of Maryland

## VI

Paris July 26th 1828

My dear Mrs. Ridgely, Your old friend has been long expecting an answer to the letter he wrote as soon as public report and more positive intelligence had informed him Mr. J. Ridgely was a very happy man. My tender sympathies and affectionate wishes in every thing that concern[s] you, the less they can be questioned, the more I am anxious to hear from yourself of your welfare. I beg you to present my best regards to your husband, father, and to our friends. Can I hope [for] the inexpressible pleasure to welcome you at La Grange?

Permit me to introduce to you a very amiable young lady, Miss V. . . . [illegible] whose father is a very distinguished Dutch gentleman and who herself can be called an American, having been educated at New Haven, and professing all the feelings of a native of the U. S.

Most affectionately forever

Your devoted friend

Lafayette <sup>23</sup>

Mrs. Ridgely  
Baltimore

## VII

La Grange January 10th 1829

My dear Young friend

Public report having informed me that you had changed your situation, an event which excited in my heart the most lively and affectionate emotions, I hastened, not adequately to express my feelings, but to remind you there was on this side of the Atlantic an old man most deeply interested in all your concerns. No answer from you having reached me, and the

<sup>22</sup> Original owned by Mr. White.

<sup>23</sup> Original in possession of Mr. John Ridgely of Hampton, great grandson of Eliza Ridgely.

miscarriages of a remote correspondence being the most satisfactory explanation, I will no longer await the arrival of the packets, before I again offer myself to you as a most sympathising friend, and devoted well wisher. My whole family to whom your marriage has been as important a news as if each of them had the honor of a personal intimate acquaintance, beg to be respectfully remembered and join in the hope that Mr. Ridgely will have no objection to cross again the ocean. Be pleased to present my best compliments to him and to your excellent father. Remember me also to Miss Magruder, to the amiable young ladies who presented my daughters with the precious Musical Book and to our other friends at Baltimore. Natalie is now the mother of a little girl. I am soon going to town for the opening of the French session, where two Republicans, George and myself, are endeavouring to do the little possible good in a less congenial order of things.<sup>24</sup> There is now in Paris a pretty numerous collection of American ladies from the several states. It reminds me, in some degree, of a Washington winter. Why not at a distance of forty miles from Baltimore, and why are you not one of the welcome visitors of the French capital? Be happy, dear madam, and don't forget

Your most affectionate friend

Lafayette <sup>25</sup>

Mrs. Ridgely, Baltimore, Maryland

[Endorsement] Rec & forwarded by your Obt Svt

Wm. Whitlock Jr

N.Y. 10 March

# VIII

Paris 7ber [September] 28 1831

My dear friend

It is an age since I had the pleasure to hear from you: of you, no doubt, I hear by every opportunity of information I can obtain. For a long time I have flattered myself with the hope that according to a [*sic*] old medical advice [?], your own inclination a few years ago, and the acquaintance of Mr. Ridgely with this side of the Atlantic, you might be induced to visit France. A thought the dearer to me as in the political European whirlwind where I find myself inclosed, any fixed plan of a voyage to America can only be delightfully dreamed of. Yet, and notwithstanding my advanced time of life, I would feel miserable indeed, was I convinced that the beloved shores are no more by me to be seen again. In the meanwhile, my dear friend, let me hope I may have the pleasure to welcome you and family in this country. Public papers inform you of what passes in Europe. I am sure your noble feeling heart [?] has often

<sup>24</sup> Both Lafayette and his son were deputies in the lower house of assembly, striving to advance democratic ideas in the face of an ultra-royalist government.

<sup>25</sup> Original owned by Mr. White.

beaten for the fate of Poland.<sup>26</sup> Be pleased to remember me to Mr. Ridgely, to our friends, and think often of your most affectionate friend

Lafayette<sup>27</sup>

Mrs. Ridgely, Baltimore

# IX

Paris, February 14 1834

I received your good letter, my dear friend, with very keen pleasure. My heart sought you out in your Italian travels & I thank you for having in part fixed my ideas about your visits in different places. I see with pleasure that you were pleased with Rome and with the French Ambassador and I am happier than I can express, in hoping that your stay in Paris will be prolonged further than you had at first decided. Give my friendly regards to Mr. Ridgely and to your good companions, not forgetting the little traveller.<sup>28</sup> I am writing by a secretary, my dear friend, because an indisposition which is not dangerous, is keeping me in bed for some time yet. You have perhaps come across the *Gazettes de France* in some Embassy or Consulate abroad, for instance the national edition of Sunday? and of Monday the 3rd of February: in it you would have seen that one of my colleagues and friends Mr. Dulong was hit by a bullet in a duel with a member of the other side of the Chamber, General Bugeaud, who was in command of the castle of Blaye during the captivity and childbirth of the Duchess of Berry; that George was one of the seconds and experienced the sorrow of seeing him fall dead; that his funeral was the occasion for one of the greatest manifestations of public opinion that has taken place and that I was the object of the most lively displays of public affection and confidence; but this all day ceremony was tiring for everyone and for me resulted in a sort of inflammation which has kept me in bed since that time and will do so for some time longer; but my condition is not at all dangerous and in a few days I shall be up. I hope that you will continue to enjoy the lovely climate and pleasures of Italy. But don't think that it is very cold in Paris. There has not been one day with ice, and at La Grange I could only offer you the little that has remained from last year. The carnival was very lively in Paris; we have had some very agreeable American reunions. Our female fellow citizens have also had a good time at the gatherings at the Tuileries, where I could not have followed them as in the old days, but where I see with pleasure that they are always well received.<sup>29</sup> It is today that they

<sup>26</sup> A revolt against Russian domination raged from January, 1831, till its suppression in September of the same year, ending in the loss of Polish independence.

<sup>27</sup> Original in possession of Dr. William D. Hoyt.

<sup>28</sup> A daughter Eliza had been born to the Ridgelys October 28, 1828. She married John Campbell White and was the grandmother of the owner of Letters III, IV, V, VII and X. After Mr. White's death she married Dr. Thomas Buckler.

<sup>29</sup> Though in 1830 he had aided in placing Louis Philippe on the throne, the monarch's reassertion of ancient royal privileges had alienated the "Hero of Two Worlds." He preferred to remain aloof from court life but was pleased that Americans ("my female fellow citizens") were received.



nominate the Reporter of the Committee on the treaty; in eight or ten days the debate will begin; I think it will be brief & will prove favorable for the appropriation. I hope to be well enough to vote.

It is probable that you will meet on your travels, to be specific, at Bologna, someone I like very much, that is the famous Madame Malibran, a performer at the New York opera and the greatest singer and actor in Europe, who is endowed with most amiable qualities.<sup>30</sup>

All my family are here, the young people have made the most of the carnival. We often speak of you, my dear friends, and it will be a great treat to see you again. Take care to remember me to my friends and fellow citizens, ladies and men, from the U. S. who are travelling in Italy. A man of great worth has just left for that country, namely Mr. Gardner, former mayor of Troy, a friend of the celebrated Mrs. Villard and of Mrs. Tayloe of Washington.<sup>31</sup> If you can do something nice for him on his journey, you will give me pleasure. From Lyons I have good news of my twelfth great grandchild. The little boy of Natalie Périer is better.

Goodbye, my dear friend. Accept the tenderest good wishes of your old and devoted friend

LaFayette <sup>32</sup>

[In English:] Don't be in your kindness uneasy about me. I shall in a few days be back again.

To Mrs. Ridgely  
c/o Messrs. Falconnet  
At Naples, Italy

## X

I hope, my dear friend, you will have received the answer to your most welcome letter. But altho' I don't know where these lines may reach you, and flatter myself with the expectation of your speedy arrival, I must indulge the pleasure to let you hear of your old affectionate fellow citizen. I have been for six weeks confined to my bed and room, nor am I as yet perfectly restored to health. But there is no danger in my situation, and by the time you come I will be quite well.<sup>33</sup> I have had the gratification to see American travellers who had met you in Italy. The Paris winter has been uncommonly mild. We receive our weekly letters and papers where I find the lamentable loss of a New York friend

<sup>30</sup> Marie Malibran, a Parisian diva who was acclaimed in Paris, Italy and New York.

<sup>31</sup> A Daniel Gardner was an alderman of Troy in 1826. Mrs. Villard remains unidentified; Mrs. Tayloe was no doubt one of the family of that name of Washington, D. C., and Mount Airy, Va.

<sup>32</sup> Original in French, written by an amanuensis but signed by Lafayette, in Society's collection. Gift of Mr. John Campbell White, 1954.

<sup>33</sup> Lafayette died at his Paris home on May 20, 1834. His end, like Washington's, resulted from a severe cold following exposure.

of mine, Mr. Cadwalader Colden.<sup>34</sup> These afflicting intelligences are a great draw back upon the pleasure I feel in the frequent and regular communications from the U. S. It appears the announced failures are not so bad as had been apprehended. The American treaty has been reported to the House of Deputies.<sup>35</sup> Its passage will take place in a few days. My family are well and beg their tender regards to you. Remember us very affectionately to Mr. Ridgely, the ladies, and the young traveller.

Adieu, my beloved friend, and return soon to us.

LaFayette <sup>36</sup>

Paris March 16th 1834

A Madame Ridgely

En Italie

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<sup>34</sup> Mayor of New York and member of Congress.

<sup>35</sup> For settlement of the American Spoliation claims against France, by which in 1836 the sum of 25 million francs was paid.

<sup>36</sup> Original owned by Mr. White.

## SIDELIGHTS

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### A WILLIAM CARMICHAEL LETTER TO ELBRIDGE GERRY, 1780

Edited by DAVID H. FISCHER

A native of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, William Carmichael was educated in Edinburgh and was residing in London when the American Revolution began. He moved to Paris and quickly gained the confidence of the American envoys there, becoming private secretary to Silas Deane. Carmichael was given many tasks which required secrecy and dispatch; it was he who secured Lafayette's active participation in the American cause.<sup>1</sup> Carmichael was also instrumental in persuading the French to salute John Paul Jones's American ensign, an act which proved the harbinger of French assistance and American independence.

In 1788, Carmichael returned to America and was elected to represent Maryland in the Continental Congress. It was here, serving on the Committee on the Treasury, that he met Elbridge Gerry. Carmichael resigned his seat in September, 1799, to become John Jay's secretary for the American negotiations with Spain. The Jay mission was doomed from its inception by political conditions in Spain—the instability of the Spanish Court, and the cynicism of the ministers with whom Jay and Carmichael were forced to deal. Much, indeed, depended on the personalities of Spanish ministers, particularly the most powerful of them, the Count de Florida Blanca. Even Thomas Jefferson, no friend of William Carmichael, wrote, "[Carmichael] has more of the Count de Florida Blanca's friendship than any diplomatic character at that court. As long as this minister is in office Carmichael can do more than any other person who could be sent there."<sup>2</sup>

After the Jay mission failed, Carmichael remained in Madrid as *chargé d'affaires* until he was relieved by William Short in 1790. He died in 1795. Had any man been able to penetrate the bewildered, blundering web of Spanish policy, Carmichael would have done so. He was disliked by many of his countrymen, perhaps for his success in reaching a basis for rapport with European nobility. Carmichael has generally been dismissed as a "highly unsuccessful minister,"<sup>3</sup> but there is ample proof that he

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<sup>1</sup> David Goldsmith Loth, *The People's General; The Personal Story of Lafayette*, (New York: Scribners, 1951), p. 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Samuel Glenn Coe in "The Mission of William Carmichael to Spain," *JHU Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sc.*, ser. XLVI, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1928), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 104.

was a highly capable one. The following letter from the Society's collections is valuable not only because of the paucity of Carmichael manuscripts, but also for the biographical information which it contains.

Madrid 18<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1780

Dear Sir

I have been now 12 months from America without a single line from you on whose punctuality and friendship I most counted. What hath caused this long silence. I bore it with some degree of patience, until I found Mr Jay had received a letter from you, without being accompanied by one for me by the same opportunity. Since my arrival here I have written repeatedly to you, not only letters of advice respecting your commissions, but even those of friendship founded on the opinion I entertained of you during our long acquaintance at the Board of Treasury.<sup>4</sup> With respect to the 1<sup>st</sup> object let me repeat once more what I have done. As soon as I arrived at Madrid & had time to look about me I wrote to Mr Ross<sup>5</sup> in France & sent him a copy of the articles yourself and Mr Peabody<sup>6</sup> desired me in case of my arrival in that country to purchase for you, requesting him to send them by the first safe conveyance to America. He wrote me, that the Alliance would soon sail, and that he would ship them in that vessel, of this I gave you immediate advice, nor did I hear more of the affair until the quarrel between Jones & Landais took place,<sup>7</sup> after this Mr Ross advised me that the articles for yourself Mr Peabody & several others had not been embarked in that vessel for the reason before mentioned but that Jones in the Ariel would charge himself with the care of them. I immediately informed you of this circumstance having for security judged it best to ship them in a Frigate & knowing that being articles of very little bulk & occupying the Capt<sup>n</sup>'s Quarters, that no complaint could be reasonably made at their being shipped in a Continental vessel, which would even have been the case had we arrived in France in the Confederacy.<sup>8</sup> I cannot answer y<sup>t</sup> the quality of the articles will be to your satisfaction, because I had not the choice of them, but I neither

<sup>4</sup> In 1778, Carmichael and Gerry were members of the Continental Congress's Committee on the Treasury.

<sup>5</sup> John Ross, a Scot from Philadelphia and a commercial agent in Nantes during the American Revolution.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Nathaniel Peabody, a delegate to the Continental Congress from New Hampshire.

<sup>7</sup> This is in reference to the feud between John Paul Jones and Pierre Landais, Captain of the fine French frigate *Alliance*, assigned to Jones's squadron when *Bon Homme Richard* engaged HMS *Serapis*. Jones reported that Landais participated in the action only by firing a few random shots into *Bon Homme Richard*, and when he reached port hoisted his flag in *Alliance*, relieving Landais of command. The French Captain retaliated by virtually stealing *Alliance* and putting to sea in her. Jones was given frigate *Ariel* in which he sailed for America.

<sup>8</sup> The vessel which carried Carmichael and Jay to Spain. She was supposed to make a French port, to allow the envoys to Spain to confer with the Americans in Paris, but was forced into Cadiz by units of the Royal Navy.

could have procured them in Spain had I desired, nor if I had, could I have done it at less than a third more than where they have been purchased. I hope you will get them safe & thus much for that business. The only proof you can give me of your satisfaction, is to employ me again in the same way. Your residence in Congress must have made you acquainted with the nature of our transactions here. I shall therefore say not much more on that subject than that your bills hitherto have been accepted, & that I hope the means will not be wanting to pay them when they become due, but the expedient was a dangerous one, altho' justifiable from the situation of Congress & the hopes they had been taught to entertain. I hope it will never again be repeated & even now stopped, if its operation hath not taken full effect. For beleive me Mexican Dollars are almost as rare here, as I wish paper ones to be in America. We have received far more than 100000 Dollars already & these must be paid in less than 5 months, every post brings us more for their circulation is current in Europe. Smiths<sup>9</sup> reconsideration of a certain question hath retarded our business here & will retard it. I hope and ardently wish the situation of America may be such as to preserve the rights of all the States. Of that Congress at the close of the Campaign will be the best judge. At all events the continuance of the same vigor union & perseverance will contribute more to their success than a thousand such insignificant beings as myself—Europe hath not as yet taken its tone for the Winter, because it doth not think the Campaign<sup>10</sup> as yet finished. I make no doubt many intrigues & propositions towards an accommodation will take place, as hath been in some measure the case particularly at this Court, during the course of the Summer. In these propositions and intrigues we can only be certain of France, for however well we may think of this Country from past favors & events present, they are under no engagement to us, and perhaps may think to find their advantage from the complaisance of others, when they do not find it in us. This is rather a conjecture proceeding from anxiety, than founded on information, because we have had the strongest assurances that our Interests will never be relinquished by his C[atholic] M[ajesty]—But neither the Same Prince or Some Ministers may exist long enough to bring our affairs to an honorable close. I have a great share of scepticism in politics except on one point, which is our Independence, but altho I am orthodox in this, I cannot be unconcerned less than the Apostles for the Church for the Persecutions that this in my time as well as that in theirs was like to suffer. I hope your Presbyterianism will not revolt at the comparison, and therefore in this hope shall proceed with my Epistle to the Disciples in Newberry or wherever the True Brethren like yourself are Established. Continue the Good Fight—array yourselves in armor, or in plain Modern Congressional Eng-

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Smith is not identified.

<sup>10</sup> The summer and early fall of 1780 is a dreary period in patriot histories of the American Revolution, with the defeat at Camden and the defection of Benedict Arnold. Word of these disasters had apparently not reached Carmichael, and the "Campaign" to which he refers is probably the arrival of Rochambeau and his troops in Newport in July.

lish or American, make the greatest Exertions thro the whole course of the winter to seize occasions which it may offer & to take the field the next campaign sooner than we have ever done hitherto. This will give an opinion of our perseverance & resources worth to us the mines of Potosi or the diamonds of Brazil, for it will render us respectable to our friends as well as to our enemies. Our news from you lately have been for us & for you like the Manna to the Jews, who in my humble opinion never deserved miracles more than we have done, altho I would neither say this to Doctor Cooper or Mr Gordon.<sup>11</sup> It hath depressed our foes, confounded their abettors, elated our friends & made me almost a prophet, without any title to the character but poverty & much enthusiasm. If you are inclined to ante me, you will always find opportunities from Newberry Boston or its vicinage to Bilbao—I beg you to mention me in the proper manner to all our mutual acquaintances & to beleive me

Always

W<sup>m</sup> Carmichael

Your obliged & Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

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### THE NAMING OF MONKTON MILLS

By ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT

It would not be expected that the explanation of a Maryland place name would be found among the papers in the Department of Lands and Mines in the Province of New Brunswick in Canada. Neither would it be expected, perhaps, that a romance would lie behind the naming of Monkton Mills.

The story begins with three Swiss officers who took service, during the eighteenth century, in the British army. One of the three, George Frederic Wallet Desbarres, making a survey of the coasts of Nova Scotia, was much impressed with the possibilities of the unoccupied lands in that area and urged upon his brother officers, Henry Bouquet and Frederic Haldimand, who were with the forces on the western edge of Pennsylvania, the advisability of getting grants in this new colony. Nova Scotia had recently been ceded to the British and the governor was anxious to fill with Protestant settlers the lands from which the Acadians had been removed. Haldimand persuaded his business agent in New York, Hugh Wallace, and another friend to join in soliciting lands, and Bouquet associated in the enterprise a Pennsylvanian who had proved himself very successful in supplying the

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<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Mr. Gordon is Lord George Gordon, a convert to Judaism who led the Gordon riots against Roman Catholicism in the summer of 1780. Dr. Cooper is unidentified.



troops, under Bouquet's command, Adam Hoops. Adam Hoops' nephew, Robert Cummings, was also interested in the affair.

Meanwhile, several groups of Philadelphia merchants and traders had interested themselves in obtaining lands in Nova Scotia, and, in 1765, sent agents up to Nova Scotia to look over the territory and to obtain grants before the Stamp Act went into effect. One of these groups, of which Benjamin Franklin was a silent partner, and his friend, John Hughes, the active partner, sent Anthony Wayne as their agent. From Wayne's reports to John Hughes and from the grants that were made, it is clear that there was much jockeying for position and much pulling of wires at Halifax. In the end, Haldimand, Bouquet, and three of their friends, received a grant of Hopewell township, 100,000 acres at the head of the Bay of Fundy and on the estuary of the Petitcodiac River. Hillsborough township, 100,000 acres south of the bend of the Petitcodiac, was granted to several members of the Nova Scotia Council and Robert Cummings, Adam Hoops' nephew. The old French names for the areas, Chipody and Petitcodiac, derived from the Indian descriptions of the rivers, were discarded in favour of those of two of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. A third township, north of the Petitcodiac River, extending from the bend of the river to the head of tide, was granted to four groups of Philadelphia merchants and the man who claimed to have aroused their interest in the region, Alexander MacNutt. This area was named Monckton, for Colonel Robert Monckton, second son of John, first Viscount Galway, and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Manners. Robert Monckton, after the capture of Louisbourg, had directed the conquest of the part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy.

The Hopewell partners entrusted the management of their affairs to a trader from Pennsylvania, Thomas Calhoun. Robert Cummings went up to Nova Scotia to look after his share of Hillsborough township, and Anthony Wayne accompanied several Pennsylvania families, mostly German in origin, to Monckton in 1766. Robert Cummings remained for a few years on the Petitcodiac, perhaps until 1771, when he was recalled to Philadelphia by the death of his uncle, Adam Hoops. His friends there disapproved of his returning to Nova Scotia and persuaded him to settle closer at hand, near Baltimore. There, a few years later, he died. After his departure from the Petitcodiac, Robert Cummings had entrusted his affairs in that area to the care of Charles Baker, a young man from Virginia who had followed his sweetheart to Nova Scotia. The management of his lands was only part of the business Cummings asked Baker to supervise. The oversight of a boy and girl was one of his concerns and Cummings begged his friend to maintain a watch on the mother. The girl's mother was Rosanna Trites, the daughter of a Monckton settler. Whether she was also the mother of the boy is not clear, and there is no further mention of the boy on the Petitcodiac. Rosanna had apparently believed herself married to Robert Cummings, for the girl went by the name of Elizabeth Cummings. After the disappearance of Robert Cummings, Rosanna married a neighbouring settler, Christian Stieff or Steeves, whose will referred affectionately to his daughter, Elizabeth.

Charles Baker retained his interest in the affairs of his one time friend. When, after the coming of the Loyalist refugees from the thirteen colonies, the part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy was made into the province of New Brunswick, Charles Baker petitioned the new government on behalf of Elizabeth Cummings and obtained possession for her of a part of Robert Cummings' grant. To enforce her claim, Baker enclosed with his petition copies of Robert Cummings' disposal of his Petitcodiac lands in her favour and a copy of Robert's letter to him. In this letter, dated at Baltimore, July 19, 1773, Cummings says that when he last wrote he "expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you at Hillsborough before this time but my friends were much bent against my return to Nova Scotia to Settle since which I have purchased a Small Estate in Maryland within Twenty Miles of Baltimore which cost me 1400£ part of my Uncles Estate called and goes by the Name of Monckton Mills with the lands belonging thereto."

"I still have a liking to Nova Scotia," Robert Cummings continued, and promised to come next spring and give the people settled on his lands their deeds. In the meantime, he asked that Charles Baker hand over to Rosanna Trites the personal possessions he had left at "Chipotee," his uncle's township. Her friends, he suggested, were to barter these possessions for furs, "with which She may procure a handsome Stock of Cattle, that may prove something Considerable to her in time." This, he thought, with his thirds of the produce of his lands would be sufficient to support Elizabeth and her mother in that country till she was otherwise provided for.

Thus, because of his nostalgia for Nova Scotia, Robert Cummings named his new estate near Baltimore for Rosanna's home on the Petitcodiac. Curiously enough, the name of Monckton township on the Petitcodiac became ultimately Moncton, the city that grew up at the bend of the river. Monckton Mills, on the other hand, became Monkton Mills. The family in England retained the original spelling of the name.

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MEMORANDUM for a Seine-Hauling,  
in Severn River, near a delightful Spring at  
the foot of Constitution Hill.

*Six Bottles of Wine, right old, good and clear;  
A Dozen at least, of Englifh Strong Beer:  
Six Quarts of good Rum, to make Punch and Grogg,  
(The latter a Drink that's now much in vogue)  
Some Cyder, if fweet, would not be amifs:  
Of Butter fix Pounds, we can't do with lefs.  
A Tea-Kettle, Tea, and all the Tea-Geer,  
To Treat the Ladies; and alfo Small Beer.  
Sugar, Lemons, a Strainer, likewise a Spoon;  
Two China Bowls to drink out of at Noon:  
A large piece of Cheefe, a Table-Cloth too,  
A Sauce-Pan, two Difhes, and a Cork Screw:  
Some Plates, Knives and Forks, Fifth Kettle, or Pot,  
And Pipes and Tobacco must not be forgot:  
A Frying Pan, Bacon or Lard for to Fry;  
A Tumbler and Glafs to ufe when we're dry.  
A Hatchet, fome Matches, a Steel and a Flint,  
Some Touch-wood, or Box with good Tinder in't.  
Some Vinegar, Salt, fome Parsley and Bread,  
Or elfe Loaves of Pone to eat in it's ftead:  
And for fear of bad Luck at catching of Fifh,  
Suppofe we fhould carry—A READY DRESS'D DISH.*

Annapolis, Aug. 20. 1754.

(*The Maryland Gazette*, August 22, 1754, page 3.)

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Russell Smith, Romantic Realist.* By VIRGINIA E. LEWIS. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1956. 255 pp. \$5.

The text and illustrations contain material of special and local interest in various fields and cover the Eastern and "Near Eastern" United States. Painting, theatrical painting, architecture and topographical sketches are all of considerable importance as they fit into the proper niche in the American scene. In the book under discussion it is neither lack of material nor lack of knowledge, but editing and format which make it of less general interest than it should be. Had the various types of material been treated in different sections, each section would have been more easily evaluated and appreciated. As it is the peculiarly uneventful life of this artist is handled at length, chronologically, and the repetitive summations, classifications and adjectives are tedious.

Russell Smith was a competent and sensible man and successful in a small way. This reviewer feels that had his life been presented in a compressed manner and first his stage work, important in the history of the theatre, and then his easel painting and his sketches successively presented (with their development or lack of it), the whole would have been more readable and useful. As there are evidently account books, clipping books, letters and diaries these then could have been sorted into a much needed *catalogue raisonnée*; the painter's working notes, with the sums the paintings, etc., fetched, and the reviewer's appreciations would have provided invaluable information. The taste, theory, working methods of an able man would thus have been presented in his own words, and the appreciation he received in his own time would also have been evident. Such material *in toto* is not usually available and its partial use, with sections of "descriptive catalogue" sentences, to pad text (rather than attached to the work or works which the material described) is both annoying and tantalizing.

The sixty illustrations make up the most important, interesting and attractive part of the book and are beautifully reproduced. But even here classification has been ignored and they do not appear to have been arranged by type, media, date or location. The Pennsylvania views are of interest historically and architecturally and one regrets the inferred loss of most of the Virginia ones. The two New York paintings are charming and so are the Baltimore and Washington views.

Careful, competent and able, rather than brilliant, Smith was very much a man of his times, and even there conservative, as one may gather from his comments on the "new" 1876 Pennsylvania Academy building and on the paintings there and in the Exposition at Memorial Hall (pages 223 and 233). Of unnamed paintings at the Academy he says: "Some of the

pictures (in the new style) with much primitive colour and no supporting shadow are distracting and neither natural nor good Art. I see nothing accomplished to detract from the old requisites of a good picture—modest colour broad light and . . . simplicity of parts and large portions of quiet repose supporting some principal part of interest." Smith's own work supported these tenets and the reproductions of his European views show that he not only echoed the contemporary standards, but also harked back to Claude and the Vernets (whose last waves of influence were appreciated in the New World). Had the theatrical quotations and cuts been blocked it would have been a happier arrangement. The sub-title of the book, "Romantic Realist," does seem appropriate and, as there is no list of Smith's works appended, it is the theatrical material in this volume which will be of most value.

The book brings on the stage again a delightful personality and character and a fine talent, but it leaves you very "hungry" and wanting more—lists of his works particularly.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Charleston, S. C.

*"Philadelphia Scrapple" Whimsical Bits Anent Eccentrics & the City's Oddities.* By SEVERAL ANONYMOUS PHILADELPHIANS. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1956. 225 pp. \$5.

The authors' desire to remain anonymous was not confided to the publishers who state quite definitely on the jacket that the two active collaborators are Mrs. Henry Cadwalader and Harold Donaldson Eberlein. Both of these good Philadelphians are well able to annotate their native city; Mr. Eberlein in particular having many books to his credit.

The book is exactly what it says it is, chronicles of "respectable eccentrics," *respectable* meaning people of impeccable Philadelphia background, bearers of coats-of-arms, gourmets, builders of beautiful gardens, box holders at the opera, and endorsers of large checks. The stories are amusing to outsiders and side-splitting to Philadelphians of the old school.

Marylanders will resent their famous South River Club being called in one place, the "West River Club," and that its boast of being the oldest social club in America could be questioned. The ancient feud over the differences or likenesses of the potent punches of the South River Club and the State in Schuylkill, and, whether Baltimore terrapin or Philadelphia terrapin is more delicious, once again appears in print. Incidentally there are some excellent old receipts embedded in the pages of this book.

All in all this is a good-humored, readable social history for those who like conservative and sometimes eccentric people. What the young, for whom it was written, think of it we do not know, but it should enjoy a good sale as the perfect present for Grandma and as a permanent record of the pleasant foibles of a class fast disappearing into America's common denominator.

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

Baltimore

*Battle for Manhattan.* By BRUCE BLIVEN, JR. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956. 128 pp. \$3.50.

On September 15, 1776, General Sir William Howe landed his troops on Manhattan Island in an effort to defeat the rebel army of General George Washington, to separate New England from the rest of the colonies, and to capture a strategic base which would be a pleasant place in which to spend the winter. This book deals with that attempt on September 15 and the events of the next several days in considerable detail, as well as the implications of those days.

During his army training, Mr. Bliven took "terrain walks" in his classes. By these "terrain walks," the instructor leads his pupils over the local landscape while at the same time he discusses its military significance. This method of approach so fascinated the author that he and his wife walked over Manhattan Island's terrain to locate the present-day sites which figured so prominently in the Battle of Manhattan. The result is a meaningful and vivid account of the battle in which the reading of its strategy becomes far more intelligible.

Mr. Bliven tells his story in a popularly written narrative, portions of which have appeared in the *New Yorker*. He describes the American defense as weak because of the lack of military engineers and little knowledge of the principles of military engineering. He criticizes General Howe as being over-cautious in his strategy of managing an amphibious assault. Howe, he says, outmaneuvered Washington, but he failed to defeat him decisively. Bliven pays tribute to Smallwood's Marylanders for whom the British had great respect. To them, hunting shirts symbolized that their wearers were good shots. These troops blocked the enemy's path, held their ground, and offered the first organized resistance to the British Army in that battle. It was this resistance which convinced Americans that Howe's army was not invincible, and the outcome of the battle raised Army morale immeasurably.

This book represents a well-written account of the battle in terms of what the common soldier contributed. Although his first chapter sets the scene for the invasion of Manhattan and his final chapter assesses its outcome the remainder of the book considers small unit strategy. The book has excellent end-papers which show the map of Manhattan in 1776 and contrast it with the present day. Also included are 32 pages of contemporary portraits and engravings which add greatly to the book's interest. His essay on sources is both critical and valuable. The result is a thoroughly competent study of a battle which had such far-reaching effect on the morale of the American Army in the Revolutionary War.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

National Records Management Council



*Gunner With Stonewall, Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague.*

Edited by MONROE F. COCKRELL. Introduction by BELL IRVIN  
WILEY. Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1957. 181  
pp. \$5.95.

Unlike the batteries of artillery of the Union, whose identities were lost in the anonymity of alphabetical designation, those of the Confederacy were endowed with individual personalities by being named, generally after their commanders or the locality from which they came. Who has not read of Nelson's Virginia Battery, or Poague's, Carpenter's or Breathed's without wondering about the man whose name the unit bore and the men who handled its guns!

This interesting and very readable *Gunner With Stonewall* breathes life into Poague's "Company" (1st Rockbridge Battery) with its historic guns named "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John" and the battalion of artillery later commanded by Lt. Col. William T. Poague of Rockbridge County, Virginia. All this while the author takes us over the plains at First Manassas, with Stonewall Jackson in the Valley and on through the major engagements of the war.

Poague's memoir is a revealing story of a unit whose standing is high among its contemporaries and a modest portrait of the man whose strict discipline but human qualities largely helped place it there. It is a fine day-to-day account of life in the field of the much neglected artillery arm. Written almost forty years after the roar of battle had faded at Appomattox, it attests to a remarkable memory and to the indelible impression four years of arduous combat had made upon the author's mind. Prepared as a story for his children with no idea of publication, it is all the more interesting for its lack of formality and absence of editorial touch-up. It reveals the humor and the pathos, the exultation and the sorrow, the hardship and the suffering of the war just as Poague experienced them.

Not the least enjoyable is the just plain inability of the author to view as sacrosanct the actions and decisions of those of the higher echelons of rank. All, the high and the low, are the subjects of frank comment.

Of particular appeal are the letters (Appendix II) which Poague wrote to his mother and brother. More than anything else they show his deep religious feeling and his confidence of victory even to the last. They reveal a young man long away from home, happy at times but often homesick, longing to see and to hear from those from whom he had been so long parted. Indeed they demonstrate how vital to the well-being of troops in the field are a few lines from home.

Perhaps to be desired, in a story written so long afterwards, might be a passing salute to the *old enemy*, an acknowledgment that he, too, had his moments. Nearly a page is devoted to "a dozen Yankees" who demanded the battalion's flag at Appomattox, but nothing of the magnanimity displayed by the Blue in the Gray's most dismal hour, the recognition of which so characterizes Confederate writing of stature.

Well edited, nicely produced and with excellent photographs, the book will make a valuable addition to and help fill the void caused by the scarcity of unit histories on the Confederate bookshelf.

GEORGE T. NESS, JR.

Baltimore

*Lee Chronicle.* By CAZENOVE GARDNER LEE, JR. Compiled and edited by DOROTHY MILLS PARKER. New York: New York University Press, 1957. \$6.50.

"The family of Lee," wrote John Adams in 1779, "has more men of merit in it than any other family." *Lee Chronicle*, a series of studies of the early generations of Lees, would seem to bear this out. Dorothy Mills Parker has skillfully edited and compiled into a cohesive unit numerous articles written over a period of years by the late Cazenove Lee, antiquarian of the Lee family.

Colonel Richard Lee, the Emigrant, landed in Virginia in 1640 to serve as aide to the colonial governor at Jamestown. He arrived on these shores of promise a patrimony-less younger son of a distinguished English family which proudly traced the fesse and billets of the Lee arms back to A. D. 1200. Vigorous of mind and body, the originator of the American line of Lees rose within two years to be the first Attorney General of Virginia. Six years later he became Secretary of State, and finally he reached the highest goal attainable by a colonial—membership in the King's Council. At his death, twenty-four years after emigrating, he was the wealthiest man in Virginia, leaving 13,000 acres of rich tobacco land to his heirs.

*Lee Chronicle* traces the history of this vigorous stock, with Philip, Thomas, and Henry Lee, grandsons of the hardy Emigrant, becoming the progenitors of the Maryland, Virginia, and Leesylvania (Prince William County) lines respectively. Philip Lee, first of the Maryland line, inherited lands in Charles County known as "Lee's Purchase"; his grandson, Thomas Sim Lee, a Revolutionary patriot, was twice elected governor of Maryland. Thomas Lee, head of the Virginia line and builder of Stratford Hall, a sturdy pile of brick on the Potomac cliffs, was father of the five famous patriot brothers: Thomas Ludwell, Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, William, and Arthur. This outstanding team of brothers worked mightily and tirelessly to bring about the birth of our great nation. The third, or Leesylvania, line produced Light Horse Harry Lee and his famous son, Robert E. Lee.

Besides telling of these Lee patriots, statesmen, plenipotentiaries, soldiers, signers of the Declaration of Independence, politicians, and pioneers in a new country, the pages of *Lee Chronicle* are thronged with other famous contemporaries—the Ludwells, Jenings, Harrisons, Washingtons, and Berkeleys, to mention but a few. Illustrations of many of these personages and their homes adorn the book, along with interesting maps and genealogical charts, and the Lee coat-of-arms.

Cazenove Lee's research and trips of genealogical exploration led him into fascinating bypaths of family lore. His history is sound and his telling of it makes the perusal of this fine volume worthwhile.

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

*Baltimore*

*Stub Entries to Indents, Book C-F.* Edited by WYLMA ANNE WATES.  
Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1957. vii, 278 pp.  
\$6.00.

Publication of this volume, part of a nearly completed set of thirteen volumes, is a fitting occasion to congratulate the South Carolina Archives Department (once called the South Carolina Historical Commission) on its fine publications program. The list of past and future volumes, easily procurable from the present archivist, Dr. J. H. Easterby, should be in every historical society library in the country, if only to serve as a stimulus to such institutions as are laggard in their public obligations.

For the uninitiated it should be explained that the term "stub entries" refers to stubs kept by South Carolina when it paid off, as it had to, with "IOU's" for supplies procured in the 1780's for her Army. Twenty-five books of Stub Entries form the basis of these volumes, of which the first thirteen "books" were edited (from 1934 on) by A. S. Salley.

The curious may be interested in two brief excerpts from this volume.

"No. 181 Book C. Issued—to Mr. Barnet Bruckner for Fourteen Pounds Sterling. Principal £14.0.0. Interest—."

"No. 61 Book F. Issued 10th February 1784 to The Reverend Mr. Robert Smith for Sixty two pounds eleven shillings and one penny Sterling for Beef for Continental Use in Decemr. 1781 And for the interment of 234 Soldiers from the General Hospital to 1st July 1779. Principal £62 11. 1 Interest £4 7. 6."

Miss Wates has done her work well, both in editing and indexing; the present reviewer's experience over 15 years with such minute fragments of Revolutionary history (as evinced in "Maryland State Papers" of which another volume will appear this year) is sufficient for him to recognize the conscientious care involved in such "diplomatic" renderings of documents.

ROGER THOMAS

*Hall of Records  
Annapolis*

*Documents of American Catholic History.* Edited by JOHN TRACY ELLIS. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. 677 pp. \$8.75.

A noted historian, The Right Reverend John Tracy Ellis, Professor of Church History at the Catholic University of America, has compiled in this volume a variety of documents ranging through papal bulls, encyclicals, state laws, charters, private letters, newspaper editorials and the writings of prominent Catholics. It covers the span from 1493, with Pope Alexander VI's bull dividing the new world between Spain and Portugal, to Pope Pius XII's encyclical on the 150th anniversary of the American hierarchy.

The documents are arranged chronologically under the groupings of "The Spanish Colonies," "The French Colonies," "The English Colonies," and "The National Period." As might be expected, Maryland is well represented in the two latter groups. Included are the *Instructions* of Cecil Calvert, Father White's *Narrative*, the Annual Letter for 1638, the Act of Religious Toleration, the Act of Disfranchisement, writings of the Carrolls, Cardinal Gibbons, and others.

The format of the book is attractive, the editing adequate, and the introductory notes to each document useful and informative. The volume is a must for every library on American religious history.

*The Life of John Smith, English Soldier.* By HENRY WHARTON. Translated from the Latin Manuscript with an Essay on Captain John Smith in Seventeenth-Century Literature. By LAURA POLANYI STRIKER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, published for the Virginia Historical Society, 1957. 101 pp. \$4.

The controversy over the character and credibility of Captain John Smith has continued from the seventeenth century to the present. It was taken up in 1685 by Henry Wharton, classical scholar and divine, and Dr. Striker has made his life of Smith, written in Latin, available in English translation. In addition she has prefaced the work with a penetrating essay on Captain John Smith in seventeenth-century literature, and there is an appendix by Richard Beale Davis on "Early American Interest in Wharton's Manuscript."

Although no new concrete evidence has been uncovered by Dr. Striker, she does reappraise the credibility of Smith with a fresh viewpoint. Formerly of the University of Budapest, and author of "John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania" in Bradford Smith's *Captain John Smith, His Life and Legend*, Dr. Striker has explored ancient Magyar, Latin, Italian and German sources for information on Smith.

The publication was timed to coincide with the Jamestown Festival, but the work stands on its own merits for its interesting presentation and its scholarship in the life of that almost incredible adventurer, Captain John Smith.

*Chessie's Road.* By CHARLES W. TURNER. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1956. 286 pp. \$4.95.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was organized in 1836 by Louisa County, Virginia, citizens. The first section of road was completed in December, 1837, from Doswell to Frederick Hall. When construction reached the Blue Ridge mountains, the Blue Ridge Company was organized (1851), which undertook the construction of nineteen miles of track through the mountains, including the construction of four tunnels. The Virginia Central (as the Chessie was called then) had exclusive privileges for the road, which was one of the great pioneering efforts in road construction through mountain ranges.

Subject to the vicissitudes of warfare during the Civil War, the Chessie managed to keep alive, but by 1873 was bankrupt. Boom years followed and the Chessie underwent great expansion. The author has narrated the history of the railroad down to 1955. He has included a wealth of detailed information and numerous illustrations in his account of one of the nation's historic railroads.

*The Amish Year.* By CHARLES S. RICE and ROLLIN C. STEINMETZ. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1956. 224 pp. \$5.

Who are the Amish? "The Amish have been gawked at, puzzled over, envied, patronized, lionized. But somewhere along the way, their identity as individual human beings has been obscured." Mr. Rice with his camera and Mr. Steinmetz with his pen have caught the everyday life of the Amish in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, through the months of the year. Weddings, barn-raising, the old-fashioned clothes, the simplicity of life, have been captured in words and photographs. It is an attractive volume about an interesting group of people, a people who have tried to stay the hands of time in a land of sweeping cultural changes.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROJECT FOR FORT MCHENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND HISTORIC SHRINE

The National Park Service, of the Department of the Interior, was established by Congress in 1916. In 1966, therefore, the National Park Service will celebrate its fiftieth birthday. In anticipation of that milestone, the Park Service on July 1, 1956, began a ten year development program, known as Mission 66. The fundamental aim of Mission 66 is to provide for the appropriate development of all areas under the Park Service's jurisdiction, so that by 1966 they will be ready to serve their visitors in the best possible fashion.

As an important part of Mission 66, the Park Service recently inaugurated an historical and archeological research program for Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine. The aim of this project is to determine Fort McHenry's appearance when the British bombarded it, 13-14 September, 1814. With the information found through research, plans will be made for better serving visitors who come to visit the venerable Fort.

A beginning in historical research on Fort McHenry has been made, but much remains to be done. If any of the readers of this magazine have manuscript material relevant to the history of Fort McHenry or to the people who were associated with the Fort and would be willing to let us examine it, we would be very grateful for such cooperation. There is no doubt, moreover, that any courtesies of the preceding kind would be valuable contributions to the furtherance of the Mission 66 project for Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine.

Our telephone number is LExington 9-2248, and our mailing address is: Superintendent, Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Baltimore 30, Maryland. Please feel free to call, write, or visit us at any time.

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*Baltimore City Police Museum*—The Baltimore City Police Department is desirous of obtaining old photographs depicting early police activities, uniforms, and other equipment used by its members in the past. Anyone having such articles and wishing to donate them, please contact Captain Anthony F. Nelligan, Crime Laboratory, Baltimore Police Department, MULberry 5-1600, Ext. 283, or send such articles to him.

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*Davis*—I am writing a biography of Henry Winter Davis (1817-1865), Baltimore lawyer and member of the U. S. House of Representatives 1855-1861, 1863-1865. I would be indebted to any readers who could help me obtain information pertaining to the family background, personality, legal and public career of Winter Davis.

MARY CATHERINE KAHL,  
2842 St. Paul St., Baltimore 18, Md.

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*Harper*—I am preparing a biography of Robert Goodloe Harper (1765-1825), a resident of Baltimore from 1799 to his death. If anyone has material pertaining to him, I should be grateful for a chance to see it. I am particularly interested in finding a picture of his wife, the former Catherine Carroll, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER,  
c/o Maryland Historical Society.

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*Oden and Vance*—Mary Oden, of Baltimore, on April 15, 1846, sent her namesake, Mary Oden Vance, daughter of Morgan Vance and his wife, Susan Preston Thompson, of Kentucky, a miniature of herself, then a young woman, with the following note:

"To My little Namesake  
'Mary Oden' V.

My catholic kiss, on forehead, lips & cheeks; and these socks: and may her eyes be larger & brighter than are those of her for whom she was named: and ever ready to be used for the good of others.

Mary Oden

Mary Oden Vance was born February 26, 1846, and died August 5, 1853, in Mercer, Co., Kentucky. Her mother had been a schoolmate of Mary Oden in Baltimore some time between 1836 and 1844. The phrase "catholic kiss" presents something of a mystery, since the Vance and Oden families were not Roman Catholics. Anyone who can throw light on Mary Oden is asked to write to the editor of the *Magazine* or to Mrs. F. C. Dugan (Sarah H. Vance), 1334 Eastern Parkway, Louisville 4, Ky.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

HUGH D. HAWKINS, Instructor in History, Amherst College, formerly at the University of North Carolina, completed a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University in 1954 on *The Birth of a University: a History of the Johns Hopkins University from the Death of the Founder to the End of the First Year of Academic Work, 1873-1877*.

ARLAN K. GILBERT is a teaching assistant in the History Department of the University of Wisconsin. As a fellowship student of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Mr. Gilbert wrote a master's thesis at the University of Delaware this past June on "Gunpowder Production in the Middle Atlantic States, a Hazardous Industry, 1783-1833."

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE, A. I. A., was born at Evesham in 1914 and lived there until his marriage in 1948. He has a bachelor's and a master's degree in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania. He has been vice president and director of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities and of Historic Annapolis, Inc. At the present time he is a partner in the office of James R. Edmunds, Jr., Architects, Baltimore. An active supporter of the Maryland Historical Society, he is now serving on its Committee of Education. For the September, 1953, issue of the *Magazine*, Mr. Hyde wrote an article on Lord Baltimore's home, Hook House, near Wardour Castle, "New Light on the Ark and the Dove."

ERICH ISAAC served in the Israeli Army in the geographic research branch. In 1954 he entered the Isaiah Bowman School of Geography at the Johns Hopkins University and received his doctorate this year. His dissertation was on *The First Century of the Settlement of Kent Island*.

JAMES W. FOSTER, director of the Maryland Historical Society and formerly editor of the *Magazine*, needs no introduction to our readers. He has recently cooperated in the publication of *Baltimore—A Picture History 1858-1958*.

DAVID H. FISCHER, a member of the Maryland Historical Society staff, is preparing a study of Robert Goodloe Harper and Federalism in the early national period.

ESTHER CLARK WRIGHT is the author of *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, 1955), a careful analysis based on the records of Canadian and American archives.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## *Report for 1956*

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### REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

**I**N this annual report we can do little except to refer merely to some of the numerous activities of our Society. These have increased greatly in recent years. We are constantly trying to handle better what has long been our field of operations. Also we are on the alert to add new undertakings whenever they seem desirable and we have or can secure the facilities required to handle them.

During the last twenty years our membership has grown from less than a thousand to approximately 3500. The general range of our activities has during that period increased even more. Our large and steadily growing collections of historical books, manuscripts, paintings, documents, various kinds of records and other data are being made more and more available to our members and to the public. The number of calls upon us for information from private and public sources in Maryland and from outside of our state is constantly increasing. For instance, we serve the State of Maryland in many ways: by preparation of War Records, editing and publication of colonial official records, many forms of assistance to the school systems, and in various other ways.

Our staff has more than tripled in size during the past 15 years but it is still not large enough to meet pressing needs. Except for reimbursement for actual expenditures incurred in rendering various services to the State of Maryland, our Society is dependent entirely for money for expenses upon dues paid by members, gifts and income from our investments. Although our income has increased largely, it is still not sufficient for us to do all we seek to accomplish. More endowment and revenue are needed, not to pay off any debts, but to enable us to give better service.

Our Society lived in its former home, corner of Saratoga and St. Paul Streets, for approximately two-thirds of the 113 years of its existence. Thirty-six years ago we moved to our present home at the corner of Monument Street and Park Avenue after it was bought by the late Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, greatly enlarged and given to us by her as a memorial to her husband. In order to meet our urgent need for additional space for operations we bought several years ago three houses with lots facing on Monument Street and adjoining our present home.

Our management is very grateful for your stimulating and never-failing support. I treasure the thought of the hearty encouragement given

by our members throughout the last forty-six years during which time I have been either your secretary, vice-president or president. We are eager to try to justify your continued confidence in us.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*.

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#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

The generous interest of two of its older members in leaving valuable bequests to the Society made the year 1956 a memorable one. Both the Tyson and Morris estates are expected to yield large benefits to the Society and its activities. Disposition of Miss Morris' effects in accordance with her will required much time of the staff, but yielded satisfaction in meeting her wishes as well as resulting in cash returns for the Society.

For the first time since it was organized in 1844 the Society increased its dues. The new rate, effective January 1, 1957, is based on \$8.00 for a single membership and \$12.00 for husband and wife. Provision was also made for those who care to contribute at a higher rate under the designations sustaining member, patron, etc.

The staff was increased by one full-time and one part-time person and certain salary adjustments which were long overdue were made. The Council authorized the employment of a permanent registrar.

The usual activities of the Society, the program of addresses, special exhibitions and reference service in the Library were successfully continued. The President and members of the staff were called upon to give talks before many gatherings including the county historical societies, service clubs and patriotic societies.

The work with school classes was placed on a stronger basis, with assistance during the winter months from members of the Junior League who, under Mr. Manakee's supervision, served as guides in showing the Society's exhibitions to school pupils. This activity is rapidly growing and will require trained guides if the schools and the Society are to realize the full potentialities of these visits.

JAMES W. FOSTER, *Director*.

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#### COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Your Committee on Finance advises the Society in the management of its overall finances. This Committee is also charged with the duty of managing endowment funds given or left to the Society by members and friends, who wish to provide facilities and future income to keep alive the history and cultural development of Maryland.

Your Finance Committee believes it should be the Society's goal to keep its expenditures in line with its income. Last December, we had

come to the point where, despite the strictest economy, our income from investments, contributions and the \$5.00 annual membership fee we have had in effect since our founding in 1844, did not produce enough revenue to cover our costs. As a first step toward taking care of this situation, a new schedule of dues, with a minimum of \$8.00, was put into effect for 1957. We are delighted to report this action has been well received.

Your Finance Committee believes every effort should be made to preserve and increase the Society's endowment. In making investments, we seek to obtain the largest possible income that can be produced by a prudently managed investment account. We also seek reasonable growth of both principal and income. The Society's endowment will be increased about \$140,000 when distribution is made to us as residuary legatees of Mr. A. Morris Tyson, who died in 1956. Also in 1956, we received \$5,000 and the house at 708 Park Avenue as bequests from Miss Josephine C. Morris.

JACOB FRANCE, *Chairman.*

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#### TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

The Committee is glad to report that the exterior and interior of the buildings of the Society are in very good condition. There is, however, great need for expansion of our facilities.

There are two somewhat major features that must be provided at the earliest possibility.

First, that of an elevator for passengers and furniture, the latter, at times, posing a serious problem and often entailing damage to walls and woodwork. This would also permit elderly people to proceed to the upper floors to observe our marvelous exhibits.

The second item is also on the urgent list, that of air conditioning of the library and main gallery, so necessary for properly preserving our manuscripts, books, etc. and, in addition, giving a measure of comfort to those engaged in research, etc.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman.*

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#### COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

The year was an unusually interesting one for the Gallery. Major accessions were the M. V. Brewington Collection of Chesapeake Bay models, carved work and shipbuilders' tools (319 pieces), the gift of the *Sunpapers*; 5 oil portraits, a silver service, many pieces of furniture and rugs from the late Josephine C. Morris; and the portrait of Benjamin H. Latrobe, acquired in London with the generous help of members of the Society. Other gifts of special interest include an oil portrait of Mrs.

Thomas Sim Lee, from the estate of Fannie M. R. Hunt, a portrait of William Pinkney by Charles Bird King, a handsome banquet table plateau with bisque ornaments and a large Sheffield epergne with Waterford glass containers, all from Mrs. L. R. Carton; three other portraits; four miniatures; a large collection of carpenter's tools from Mr. Thomas W. Pyle; and two sketchbooks of Alfred J. Miller, from Mr. Lloyd O. Miller.

It is my distressing duty to note the passing of two of our most useful members: Dr. James Bordley, who died on January 7 and Miss Josephine Cushing Morris, who died on June 17. Both Miss Morris and Dr. Bordley were regular in their attendance at meetings of this Committee and contributed generously to both the Gallery and the Library of the Society.

The exhibitions during the year were (1) Maryland needlework, consisting of loans supplemented by items owned by the Society; (2) pictures and memorabilia relating to George Washington in connection with the annual birthday observance; (3) portraits by Henry Bebie, with a catalog; (4) a part of the large collection of Currier and Ives prints owned by Mr. Guy T. Warfield; (5) War of 1812 exhibition in connection with Defenders Day; (6) recent acquisitions, including the portraits received from Miss Morris and those of Archbishops Maréchal and Whitfield, gift of the Reverend Thomas A. Whelan; (7) the usual Christmas exhibition of toys, dolls and doll houses.

The lecture series on American arts and crafts was as follows: January 17, "Early American Needlework and Homespun," by Miss Grace L. Rogers; February 14, "Alfred J. Miller, Maryland Artist," by Marvin C. Ross.

A catalog of miniature accessions received since the list published in June, 1945, was prepared by Misses E. C. Holland and L. M. Gary. It was published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December and showed that the collection of miniatures has increased by 75 items. This brings the total of the Society's miniature holdings to 231, a representative collection of American miniature painting.

Mr. John C. Kirby, of the Walters Art Gallery, very generously restored the portrait of Mary Digges Lee, already referred to, before it was placed on exhibition.

The staff remained unchanged, with the Director acting as general curator and Miss Holland as principal assistant. Late in the year the council authorized the employment of a registrar, but the position had not been filled at the close of the period.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman.*

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#### COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Mr. Haber's very full Report (which follows) will cover the specific transactions that have occurred in the year ending December 31, 1956.

On behalf of the Library Committee, I report that the Society principally needs:



1. A pension system for all of the employees.
2. A complete overhauling of the Library, including rebinding of books, repair of manuscripts and additional personnel to index accumulated manuscripts. On April 10, 1956, we asked for \$7,500.00 for that purpose.
3. The establishment of a permanent system for the protection and lamination of manuscripts, similar to that used at the Hall of Records and at the Library of Congress. The cost of installation of that would be approximately \$14,000.00.

GEORGE ROSS VEAZEY, *Chairman.*

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There were 395 groups of manuscripts and books accessioned by the Library during the year. The groups varied from single items to collections of considerable size. Many of these have been described in *Maryland History Notes*. The most notable groups were those coming from the estates of Miss Josephine Cushing Morris, Mr. A. Morris Tyson, and Mr. James E. Steuart. The latter collection included several hundred Civil War letters of Confederate General George Hume Steuart. The processing of the collection had not been completed at the end of the year, but it is safe to say that it will add several thousand manuscript letters to the Library collections.

Patriotic societies continued their loyal and generous support for the maintenance of Library materials. From the Calvert Papers Fund, established by the National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, \$1,067.16 was expended for restoration work, leaving a balance of \$432.85 from the original \$5,000 appropriated. The Maryland State Society United Daughters of 1812 gave to the Library \$60 to make photostat copies of our War of 1812 Muster Rolls. The Dorset Chapter of D. A. R. contributed \$45 for the restoration of Dorchester County rent rolls. In addition to support from these Societies, numerous individual members of our Society made helpful contributions to the Library.

The Library spent \$604.01 for the purchase of books, and this included \$290.76 from the Passano Fund for reference works. Manuscript purchases totaled \$684.21; book binding \$264.25; miscellaneous supplies \$534.61. Thus the total expenditure for the Library from regular Society funds was \$2,077.08.

The indexing of manuscripts, for which funds are provided by the State of Maryland, continued through the year. The sum of \$430.65 was expended on part-time labor; \$97.62 for typing cards; and \$39.94 for supplies. This project proves its usefulness almost daily, but at the present rate of progress, a larger quantity of new material is received in a year than is indexed.

Most of the worn envelopes containing pamphlets on the library shelves were replaced during the year, but binding of our books and restoration of manuscripts still remain as major problems.

The Library was heavily used by researchers throughout the year. In addition, there were numerous telephone inquiries and approximately 50 queries by mail each week were answered.

We have cooperated with scholarly publication ventures, such as *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, *John Adams*, *Henry Clay* and *James Madison*, by furnishing copies of our holdings. Eventually the Library should have a complete published Guide to its manuscript collections, so that its resources will be nationally known.

FRANCIS C. HABER, *Librarian*.

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#### COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The publication program of the Society was a particularly active one. Volume LXVII of the *Archives of Maryland*, the fourth under the editorship of Dr. Merritt, appeared. It is entitled *Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1677-1678*, and is Volume 12 in the so-called "Court Series."

The quarterly *Magazine* had a successful year under the editorship of Mr. Haber, who was fortunate in securing a number of contributions of importance and many of general interest. The director of the Society, Mr. Foster, brought out the usual four issues of our news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*.

In the series, "Studies in Maryland History," no new volume was issued this year but sales of the last in the series, *The Dulany's of Maryland*, by Land, and of the two earlier volumes in the series, continued. The first printing (8,000 copies) of the revised edition of *My Maryland*, a school history, taken over from Ginn & Co. in 1955, was approximately sold out and plans were made for a second printing. After authors' royalties and extraordinary expenses owing to revision, the Society had a small profit.

Sales of the Star-Spangled Banner facsimile, pamphlet and postcard were continuous. Several other subjects were added to the postcards on sale at the Society.

The book, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Family*, by Mr. Harry Wright Newman, was published at the instance and through the generosity of Mr. Prewitt Semmes. Its sales throughout the year have been satisfactory. Thanks to Mr. Semmes's liberality, the Society was able to defray all costs and have something left over. Proceeds of sales will go to the Society.

*Washington Bowled*, the story of Washington's resignation of his commission to the Continental Congress, sitting in Annapolis, by Governor McKeldin of Maryland, was issued over the Society's imprint by arrangement with the author. At the close of the year 862 copies had been sold through the Society and the many book stores that stocked it, and additional sales are anticipated.

J. HALL PLEASANTS, *Chairman*.

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## COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

On December 31, 1955, the membership was as follows:

Honorary members .....	3
Life members .....	39
Active members .....	3492
	— 3534

Members gained during 1956:

Life, 7, Active 324 .....	331
	— 3865

Members lost in 1956:

Deaths—Life 2, Active 107 .....	109
Resignations .....	263
Montgomery Co. joint memberships discontinued .....	116
Dropped .....	111
	— 599
	— 3266

Net membership December 31, 1956:

Honorary .....	3
Life .....	44
Active .....	3219
	— 3266

ELIZABETH CHEW WILLIAMS, *Chairman*.

N. B. Members added during the first 6 months of 1957 totaled 125.

## COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

The Society presented a successful program of addresses during the year. The speakers and their topics were as follows:

January 12—Bertram K. Little, Director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, "Shall We Preserve Our Historic Buildings?" (Joint meeting with the S. P. M. A.)

January 23—The Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York, "How the City Serves the People."

February 8, Annual Meeting—Wilson H. Elkins, President, University of Maryland, "Frontiers in Higher Education."

May 15—Francis V. duPont, former Commissioner of U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, "How the Mason-Dixon Line Settled a Recent Controversy."

May 25—Commander Marion V. Brewington, U. S. N. (Ret.), "Chesapeake Bay Watercraft—Their Builders and Decorators."

November 14—Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, Executive Director Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "New Opportunities for Historical Agencies."

November 30—Dr. Paul F. Norton, of Pennsylvania State University, "The English Career of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. . . ."

The afternoon series of illustrated addresses consisted of a talk on early American needlework and homespun, by Miss Grace L. Rogers, of the Smithsonian Institution, on January 17, and a second lecture dealing with the life and works of Alfred J. Miller, the Baltimore artist, was given on February 14 by Mr. Marvin C. Ross, of Washington, D. C.

The Committee on Addresses will be very happy to receive suggestions from members for future programs.

NEIL H. SWANSON, *Chairman.*

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#### WAR RECORDS COMMITTEE

On January 12, 1956, the Committee met to decide matters incident to the eventual completion of the War Records Division program. Discussion resulted in the following suggestions to the Board of Public Works: 1) that, because of the great cost involved, publication of the World War II military service records of Marylanders should not be recommended; 2) that, following the end of the Division's work, the Society should house, maintain and service the historical materials now in the possession of the Division; 3) that the Society should charge the State an annual fee for storing and servicing these materials, the amount of the fee to be determined later; and 4) that while the Society stands ready to record Maryland participation in the Korean conflict should the State so desire, existing legislation limits the activities of the War Records Division to World War II. On June 11 the Board of Public Works approved the Committee's recommendations.

In June also the Division published its fifth book, *Maryland in World War II—Gold Star Honor Roll*. During the remainder of the year the Division continued alphabetizing the 250,000 discharges of Maryland World War II veterans and preparing the manuscript of its final volume which will record home front activities.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman.*

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#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Committee on Education functions as a speakers' bureau for topics relating to the history of Maryland. During the year the Committee was called upon to obtain speakers for several meetings, especially those of service groups in the Baltimore area.

Mr. Bryden B. Hyde was appointed a member of the Committee vice the late Randolph Barton, Jr.

W. CALVIN CHESNUT, *Chairman.*

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### COMMITTEES ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Chairman consulted with officers of the Society concerning the advisability of holding a conference of the various historical societies of the State. Such conferences have been held for many years past in Pennsylvania and other states. Now that Maryland has 16 county societies, in addition to the State Society, it was felt that a meeting might be profitable to all parties. Owing to the pressure of other activities it was decided to postpone such a state-wide conference until 1957.

Very satisfactory relations exist between our Society and various patriotic societies, some of whom hold regular meetings in our buildings, and several maintain their records in our Library where they are accessible under supervision to their members and in some instances to the general public.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman.*

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### COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

The gift of the collection of Chesapeake Bay material, formed by Commander Marion V. Brewington, U. S. N. (Ret.), by the *Sunpapers* of Baltimore, was the most gratifying event of the past year. It was a signal recognition of the Society's continuing efforts to assemble a representative showing of the maritime history of the Chesapeake.

The Brewington collection consists of 319 pieces, including shipbuilders' models, carved decorations, and tools of the shipbuilding trades. They were gathered over a period of 30 years by a man who is a native Marylander and, until last year, a life-long resident of the Eastern Shore. The Council of the Society passed a resolution of deep appreciation to the *Sunpapers* for their action in making this noteworthy gift.

The new collection was handsomely installed under the supervision of Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, a member of our Committee, in the largest of the three rooms presently available for the Maritime Museum. It has been featured in stories and photographs by many publications and has attracted a large number of visitors and of specialists in this field.

The Society during the year acquired a large carved wooden eagle, apparently from the pilothouse of a Chesapeake steamboat of fifty years or more ago. Numerous drawings and models also were presented, the most important being a reproduction of the "Arke of Maryland," the larger of the two little vessels that brought the first settlers to Maryland in 1634. It was made at a scale of 3/16 inch to the foot by Mr. Gibson, who used

as a model photographs of the plaster designs on the ceiling at Hook House, Wiltshire, England.

The Society and our Committee are indeed indebted to Mr. Gibson for his unremitting interest and work in organizing and expanding our maritime collection. The members of the Committee have likewise been exceedingly helpful in our long-range effort to develop the Society's Maritime Museum into one of the notable collections in this field.

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman.*

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

### GENERAL FUND

#### STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

*for the year ended December 31, 1956*

<i>Income</i>	
Dues .....	\$17,072.50
Voluntary Contributions .....	3,050.60
Investments	
Endowment Fund .....	\$11,488.00
Elise Agnus Daingerfield Fund .....	7,630.80
Elizabeth S. M. Wild Fund .....	2,328.60
A. Morris Tyson Estate .....	15.00
	<hr/>
	\$21,462.40
Legacies	
H. Oliver Thompson Estate .....	\$ 1,267.80
Jane James Cook Estate .....	590.42
	<hr/>
	\$ 1,858.22
Sales of Publications	
General .....	\$ 1,156.81
Advertising Income .....	935.40
Star Spangled Banner Pamphlets etc. . .	87.10
My Maryland (School History) .....	10,867.97
	<hr/>
	\$13,047.28
Miscellaneous Income	
Service Charges and Fees .....	\$ 381.06
Rent, 209, 211, 213 W. Monument St. . .	7,222.00
Other Income .....	1,831.85
	<hr/>
	\$ 9,434.91
 TOTAL INCOME .....	 <hr/>
	\$65,925.91
<i>Expenses</i>	
Addresses .....	\$ 900.73
Advertising .....	11.28
Building Supplies .....	700.69
Commissions .....	1,146.38
Depreciation .....	28.50
Gallery .....	518.19
Heat .....	2,186.04
Insurance .....	3,224.13
Library-Miscellaneous .....	895.67



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Library-Books and Manuscripts .....	604.01	
Light and Hot Water .....	1,042.31	
Membership Extension .....	63.88	
Miscellaneous Expense .....	1,922.34	
Office Supplies .....	1,259.47	
Postage .....	716.29	
Publications .....	8,391.18	
"My Maryland" Publication .....	1,693.03	
Photos etc. Ordered by Library Patrons .....	235.54	
Repairs .....	1,727.24	
Salaries .....	36,979.16	
Expenses 213 W. Monument St. ....	2,661.97	
Taxes—Social Security .....	936.17	
Telephone .....	977.60	
Travel .....	231.66	
TOTAL EXPENSES .....		\$69,053.46
EXCESS of EXPENSES over INCOME transferred to SURPLUS .....		<u>(\$3,127.55)</u>

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31, 1956

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

*Current Assets*

Cash in Bank .....	\$	223.50
Petty Cash .....		100.00
State Index Fund .....		3.00

TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS ..... \$ 326.50

*Fixed Assets*

Real Estate, Main Building and Nos. 209-213 W. Monument St. ....	\$210,748.59	
Books .....	1.00	
Manuscripts and Prints .....	1.00	
Paintings and Statuary .....	1.00	
Furniture and Fixtures .....	\$286.00	
Less Depreciation Allowance .....	171.00	115.00
TOTAL FIXED ASSETS .....		\$210,866.59

TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS ..... \$211,193.09

*General Endowment Fund*

Cash Corpus .....	\$	750.42
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society .....		90.00
Bonds .....		68,010.57
Stocks .....		137,394.43
Ground Rent .....		666.66
Due from Current Funds .....		58,158.43
TOTAL GENERAL ENDOWMENT ASSETS .....		\$265,070.51

*Elise Agnus Daingerfeld Fund*

Cash Corpus .....	\$	77.30
Stocks .....		87,411.63
Bonds .....		66,385.15
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS..		\$153,874.08

*Elizabeth S. M. Wild Fund*

Cash Corpus .....	\$ 56.16	
Bonds .....	45,100.00	
Stocks .....	17,382.22	
Ground Rent .....	1,307.00	
TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS .....		\$ 63,845.38
TOTAL ASSETS .....		693,983.06

## CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

*Current Liabilities*

Special Fund Account .....	\$ 7,268.47
Sales Tax Payable .....	1.58
Maryland Withholding Tax .....	111.11
Note Payable—Equitable Trust Company .....	4,000.00
Due to Endowment Fund .....	58,158.43
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES .....	\$ 69,539.59

*Net Worth*

Surplus .....	\$141,653.50
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TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES and NET WORTH	\$211,193.09
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General Endowment Fund .....	\$265,070.51	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND .....		\$265,070.51
Daingerfield Fund .....	\$153,874.08	
TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND .....		\$153,874.08
Wild Fund .....	\$ 63,845.38	
TOTAL WILD FUND .....		\$ 63,845.38
		\$693,983.06

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
Baltimore, Maryland

May Seventeenth  
Nineteen Hundred Fifty-seven

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expense of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, as of December 31, 1956. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we deemed necessary.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statements of Income and Expense fairly present the financial position of the Maryland Historical Society at December 31, 1956 and the result of operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK,  
Certified Public Accountant  
Baltimore 1, Md.